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HISTORY OF TWO QUEENS.

VOL. III.

HISTORY

OF

TWO QUEENS.

I. CATHARINE OF ARAGON.

II. ANNE BOLEYN.

BY

WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON.

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VOLUME III.

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NEW REIGN.

CHAPTER I.

KING AND QUEEN.

1509.

1. The summer and the autumn slipt away in pastimes which a youthful court could share with a more youthful King and Queen. Life and love were new to them, and love was sweeter to the Queen than life. The King was master of his empire. He had but to say, Let this be done, and it was done; the forms of law and state being nothing but the servants of his pleasure. He could do and undo, as the fancy took him. He had made his marriage, and so long as he believed it right no councillor dared to tell him it was wrong. At present he was happy in his consort's eyes. If cares of state surprised him as he dangled from a barge, or loitered in the glades of Greenwich Park, he waved them off with an impatient smile. That

men were thinking evil, he was well aware, but youth and love disdained to ponder on the sentence, which had been so often quoted, 'If a man shall take his brother's wife, he shall not leave a living child.'

2. For what was in his kingdom, Henry had no call to seek advice. For what was out of England, he could trust to Julius and Fernando. Why should he and Catharine go beyond the aged pontiff and the warlike prince? The Pontiff had supplied the bull and breve. Fernando told them, they were married on the day when Henry, not yet fourteen years of age, had pledged his troth in Salisbury Court. The date was nothing; the renunciation nothing. Henry was told there are two matrimonial codes; one code for princes, and a second code for subjects; and that kings are bound by acts which to inferior persons would be simple forms. According to this view, a prince might bind himself in wedlock at an earlier age than ordinary men. The King had pledged his troth at Salisbury Court, and later acts of his could not recall that pledge. What had the King and Queen to fear? Fernando urged the case of Manoel and Maria, King and Queen of Portugal. Manoel was styled the Fortunate. He had married sisters; yet his house was full of boys and girls; six sons and daughters, with a hope of more! Croakers of every sort had raised their parable against that royal match; yet no man had been blessed more visibly than Manoel in his second

wife. The house of Portugal was evidence of the Pope's dispensing power. Fernando pointed to that picture of domestic bliss; and, cheered by an example in their family circle, Henry and Catharine lived their life and put their trust in heaven.

3. 'I love him,' Catharine wrote with her full heart; 'yea, love him more deeply than I love myself.' Henry was no less fond of her. 'If I were free to choose again,' he said, 'I would take her for my wife before any other woman in the world.' This wealth of love was poured into Fernando's ear, and reached his cold and scheming intellect. 'I am rejoiced to find you love each other so supremely,' he replied; 'and hope you may be happy to the end of life; a good marriage being not only a blessing for the man and woman who take each other, but a blessing to the world outside.' So Catharine and Henry found it in these early days. Diego, the confessor, who had done so much to make them one, was near them as their trustiest friend. They kept no secrets from this Spanish friar. Forest and Peto stood outside the gate; Diego was admitted to the innermost room. No enemy could impeach him now his mistress was a Queen. What had the royal pair to fear so long as they could keep that Case of Conscience out of sight?

4. Beyond the feeling of his youth, the novelty of his reign, and the exuberance of his love, the King enjoyed a legacy of romance from his father, which he nursed with a peculiar zeal. That royal

mystic had been true in death to the least selfish passion of his life. 'My son,' the dying King had said to Henry, 'be a soldier of the Cross; oppose the enemies of God; sustain the Church and her appointed chief; and strive to liberate the tomb of Christ.' Henry had made these precepts 'the heir-looms' of his house. By day he mused, by night he dreamt, of starting on a crusade with the flower of English youth about him; of engaging with the Saracens by land and sea; and never laying up his sword till he had placed it on the Holy Sepulchre. Except his love for Catharine, he could think of nothing else. When should he prove the ardour of his faith? How could he serve the Church against the world? Where should he seek the means of fighting for the tomb of Christ? When he was not too busy with the light of Catharine's eyes, these were the subjects seething in his brain, dividing his attention with Aquinas and his other favourite books.

5. Nor was the Queen a stranger to this romance of his youth. A sister of the Order of St. Francis, who had taken on herself monastic vows, she was by birth and policy a daughter of the Church. Two of her bastard sisters were in convents. One of her bastard brothers was an archbishop. Her father bore the name of Catholic; and next to the Venetian Signory, her countrymen stood nearer to the infidels than any Christian power. Catharine had been present in the last great conflict of the Crescent with the Cross. Her home had been a city and

a palace of the Moor; a city and a palace which the Church, in counting up her tale of loss and gain, had set against the city and the palace on the Golden Horn. These crusades of her country had not ceased. Ximenes was conducting a campaign against the Moors of Oran, which had opened with a great success. Some English knights and gentlemen had joined his standard, and Fernando seemed to be preparing for another holy war. No news from Spain were read at Greenwich with such zest as those which told of battles with the Moors of Africa. To Henry, therefore, in this romance of his youth, the Queen was like a being on a higher level than his own, beckoning him the way he wished to tread, and pointing to the height on which he fixed his gaze.

6. Yet this design of fighting for the Cross, though always on their tongues, was not allowed to ruffle the serene excitement of their love. Some clouds fell on them now and then, in news from Venice, where a state to which the King was looking for a fleet and admiral lay exposed to ruin by a Christian league. His father had not signed the treaty of Cambrai, nor could he see the sense of wrecking the only navy which could fight a Turkish fleet. On hearing how the French were speeding towards the Adriatic, he was deeply moved; but he was hardly eighteen years of age; the Signory was lying under papal censures; and his father-in-law was snatching at a portion of the spoil.

What could he do? Without Venetian ships and men no armament could sail for Palestine. Venice was necessary to the Church, yet Rome had laid her interdict on the Republic. Henry had been taught to like the French, the men of liberal thought and sentiment; yet since his marriage, he was learning to suspect a country ruled by Cardinal Amboise, the opponent of his union with the Queen. Fernando urged him to be prudent in his words; reserving what he had to say; and neither quarrelling with the French nor showing too much friendship for the Signory. Catharine, as ambassadress of Spain, employed her smiles and kisses in the cause of peace. So wise a king, so true a Catholic, so prosperous a soldier, as her father, ought to know the season when it would be well for them to move. Until Fernando gave a sign, they need not fret their souls about the Doge of Venice. If the Venetian envoy pressed his suit, they must continue to juggle him with words.

7. Such service was expected from the Queen, who stood in too much terror of the King, her father, to refuse his bidding, let him order what he might. Already she had served him well. Though Henry had been trained to watch Fernando with suspicion, as a man of vast and vicious projects, hostile to the safety of his neighbours, Catharine had already so far overcome this bias of his youth, that he was coming to regard Fernando as a man with whom his crown and person might be safe. A boy

in years, he needed sound advice; and where was a councillor like the prince whose genius had improved a petty state into a mighty empire, and whose piety had gained for him the name of Catholic? 'Chief among the reasons which compel me to love the King,' Catharine told her father, 'is the fact—not that he is my husband, but that he is a good son to your Highness, with a mind to love and serve you, with a truer heart than ever son had to serve his actual father. I have done my duty as ambassadress; and the King, my Lord, is more obedient to your Highness than the brain of man is likely to conceive.'

8. Living in the light of Catharine's eyes, and busy with his books, his archery, and his love-songs, how could Henry guess what use Fernando was to make of those Venetian troubles? Neither Max nor Louis saw, as yet, the nature of Fernando's schemes; but Henry had uneasy feelings as to his designs on Venice — a minute but necessary part of his far-sweeping plans. Fox was employed to gain a little time. As the chief advocate of the King's marriage, Fox was a central figure of the Spanish party—men who were not so much Catharine's servants, as defenders of her union and adherents of the Pope.

CHAPTER II.

CATHARINE'S POSITION.

1509.

1. To strengthen a position that lay open to attack on every side, the Queen had need of English friends; and while the world was new to her, she drew about her court such men and women as appeared to be devoted to her person and her cause. Before her honeymoon was spent, she had begun to gather round herself that Spanish party which was to stand beside her in the sunshine and the tempest of her reign.

2. The conflicts which had raged before her marriage in the church and council were conducted afterwards in the minds of men and in the secrecies of private life. Not only in the street, but in the Court, not only in the anteroom, but in the closet, there were men and women who believed the King and Queen were living in a state of sin. If Catharine's friends maintained that she had not been Arthur's wife, the Duchess of Norfolk, who had lived in Catharine's household, met such nonsense with a matron's scorn. The world was waiting for events

to speak. Her marriage was a test and an appeal. If she was blessed as her sister Maria had been blessed, the critics would be silenced. If her bold appeal should fail, those critics would be heard again. Old men like Surrey, who had seen the factions of the Roses, and who knew the state of England on the eve of Bosworth, stood aghast in fear when they reviewed the chances of a second civil war. Yet Surrey and his consort knew that she was married on a false impression of the facts, and that the legal standing of her son, if she should have a son, would be a matter of dispute.

3. Against such critics what was her defence? An outer line in Henry's youth and love; an inner line in the subserviency of Rome. The first was safe so long as she retained her empire in the King. If that should fail, there would be fresh debates, appeals, and papal bulls; and who could tell the Queen how an appeal to Rome would go? Much would depend on who was seated in the papal chair. Suppose Cardinal Amboise were at the Vatican! This prelate had opposed the dispensation; yet this French denouncer of the papal bull was all but certain to succeed the reigning pope. The Spanish party had to set their teeth against these claims of Amboise on the holy chair.

4. From Warham they had hardly less to fear. A lawyer of the highest rank, a theologian of the widest study, Warham had a reputation in the law-courts and the universities, to which the greatest

men in Europe doffed their caps. 'He was a true divine,' Erasmus wrote of him, when neither fear nor hope could move that scholar's pen; 'not only a divine in name, but in the very fact; and was besides profoundly versed in both the civil law and canon law.' Warham lay open to the light. A friend of France, he loved the liberal studies then in vogue among the French. While yet the word 'reform' was strange, this primate had it often on his lips. In almost every speech he called for a reform. A Reformation, he declared, was necessary in the Church and in the State, and from his place in parliament he never ceased to urge both peers and commons to begin the work. A scholar, and a patron of the learned, his example weighed with men who gave an impulse to the course of thought. Since the clandestine marriage, he had kept his protests to himself, but neither silence nor submission could allay the fears that lay in Catharine's breast. Though Warham held his tongue, his views were known to all the world. Like Amboise, and the liberal theologians of Paris, he denied the power of popes to set aside the word of Scripture. Should the Case of Conscience be revived, he would be sure to say again what he had said so many times before.

5. In Fox, Lord Privy Seal, the Spanish party found a clerical chief. When few were of his way of thinking, Fox pronounced the dispensation to be sound in law. Fox was of the high church party, very high. No Roman proctor, waiting for promotion at

the Vatican, exalted the pontificate more than he. Fox held that popes were actual vicars of the Lord, who, in the power of Christ, could set aside all written and unwritten laws. Show him the leaden seal, and he would ask no more. That impress was to him the stamp of Heaven, and to deny its virtue was to slay a living soul. For him a pope could do no wrong; nor could a papal act, according to his views, be questioned by a secular judge. So staunch a champion of the dispensation was a man for Catharine to consult. But Fox had other claims on her support. For her sake, he had lost his place at court, which Warham, her unsleeping adversary, had been called to fill. The time had come to pay her faithful priest, and Fox was called into the closet when his betters in the council were not called. Unhappily for Catharine, her confessor and her bishop were at war. A partizan of Spain, Fox had been intimate with Guter, whose opinion of Diego he endorsed; and her confessor hated Fox with the same rancour that he poured on every man who came between him and the Queen. Unhappily, Fox had no great influence in the English Church; his views being stamped as high, papistical, unpatriotic; while his talents were devoted to the drudgeries of office rather than to the duties of a priest.

6. One man, and only one, was found on the episcopal bench, who held with Fox that the legality of Catharine's marriage lay beyond debate. This man was Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; a cham-

pion worthier of the primate's steel than Fox. A Yorkshire lad, born in the town of Beverley, John Fisher, though he went to Cambridge early, had not lost his northern grit and twang. His tones were rough, his phrases curt. What other men hardly dared to hint, Fisher would throw into the simplest words. He called a lie a lie, a knave a knave, not caring who might take offence. This roughness of his speech, combined with his repute for piety and learning, took the world by storm. A thorough scholar, armed at every point, he feared no combat, and his nature was unyielding as a rock. But with this love of combat, he combined a childlike veneration for the See of Rome. With him, a pope could do no wrong, nor could a Catholic prelate criticise a papal act. Lady Margaret had named him first of her professors; Henry, her son, had made him Bishop of Rochester; and after Henry's death, the aged lady had placed him near her grandson, by appointing him one of the executors of her will. In this capacity he acted with the Privy Seal, and came, unhappily for his peace, to mix in secular affairs. His rough and ready talk amused the King; his high Church views delighted Catharine. He enjoyed such favour at the court that had he been more worldly and aspiring, he might well have thought the primacy within his reach. But Fisher was a priest; and nothing could induce him to become a councillor and secretary of state.

7. Unable to secure the English primate, Catha-

rine sought support among those mendicant friars who owned no masters save their General and their Pope. Her mother had consulted the Franciscan Order, which, in spite of all that could be done by liberal Spain, had crowned her queen. Catharine could trust these brethren of the cord and gown. The friars who lodged outside her palace-gates, regarded her with a peculiar love, as being to them a sister rather than a queen. She was a member of their order. She had crept into their chapel for her secret nuptials. She allowed them access to her closet, and they passed into her presence while ambassadors and councillors were waiting in her ante-room. These brethren stood around her like a sacred guard, of which Father Forest and Father Peto might be called the chiefs. Forest was a rash, out-spoken, vacillating brother, with a lust for domination not to be appeased. Peto was a friend of Bishop Fisher, whom he rivalled in steady courage and equalled in devotion to the Holy See. Catharine had given these brethren her obedience, and they gave her in return their hearts and tongues. Through the great passion of her reign, the Grey Friars of Greenwich were to stand by her in all their weakness and in all their strength.

CHAPTER III.

COUNCIL AND COURT.

1509.

1. Lady Margaret had chosen Henry's councillors with an eye to balancing all factions in the state. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; Fox, Lord Privy Seal; Surrey, Lord Treasurer; Shrewsbury, Lord Steward; Herbert, Lord Chamberlain; Lovel, Constable of the Tower; Wyat, Keeper of the Jewels; Ruthal, Secretary of State; Poynings, Comptroller; Darcy, Warden of the East Marches; and Marney, Captain of the Guard; were called into the council-room; a body rather lay than clerical, and with a leaning rather towards a French than towards a Spanish policy. Eight soldiers were pitted against three priests, and the priests were known to hold three several views. Such councillors were not likely to advise the King to marry Catharine; but the King had married her without advice. When all was over, Lady Margaret tried to make the best of what she could not hinder; but she had not strength enough to rally from the shock. She passed away, a pattern of her sex.

2. Highest among the officers of her choice sat Thomas, called 'the Great Earl' of Surrey. A man of sixty-five, Surrey had played a part in several reigns. Few treaties, whether of peace or war, were deemed secure unless his signature was attached. Surrey had signed the articles with France. He was a party to the marriage of Margaret with James, and the projected match of Mary with Charles. The King's sisters looked to this illustrious soldier as the guardian of their rights. Abroad no man was known so well as Surrey. Henry the Seventh had made him Lord Treasurer, and left him one of his executors. A wise, sedate, and gallant peer, his word was said to be safer than another man's oath. Loving and admiring his aged warrior, Henry was believed to be not unwilling to restore the forfeited dukedom to his family.

3. But an influence at the court postponed this act of grace. Surrey's wife, who was allowed by patent to retain the rank and name of Duchess, had been with Catharine in her early married days, and knew the innermost secrets of her house. She knew the facts which Padre Alessandro had reported in Toledo; but, unlike Padre Alessandro, the Duchess could not be induced to hold her tongue. At Howard House, among her children and connexions, she repeated, as a fact within her knowledge, that the Queen had been Prince Arthur's wife; and the connexions of that house were led, in consequence, to look on Henry's love-match as a rite that had no

moral sanction and no legal force. These family connexions made a numerous and a powerful party in the state. Surrey had sixteen children — ten sons, six daughters; nearly all of whom married into rich and noble houses. Thomas, Lord Howard, his eldest son, married the King's aunt, Lady Anne Plantagenet, sister of Queen Elizabeth the Good. His second son, Sir Edward, Admiral of the Fleet, married Alice Lovel, heiress of the Morley peerage and estates. His eldest daughter, Lady Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Boleyn, of Hever Castle and Blickling Hall. Lady Muriel married John, Viscount Lisle. Lady Anne married John, Earl of Oxford. Lady Dorothy married Edward, Earl of Derby. Lady Elizabeth (the second) married Henry Radcliffe, afterwards Earl of Sussex. Lady Catharine married Sir Rhese ap Thomas, one of the richest men in Wales. Among these families and their connexions Catharine hardly hoped to find a a friend.

4. Against this powerful house the Queen arrayed their natural enemies, the Staffords, Courtneys, Poles, and Greys, all old and high connexions of the reigning line. These courtiers were not strong in numbers, even in her day of pride, yet men like Buckingham and Dorset gave them an appearance of solidity far beyond the warrant of their actual strength.

5. In the front rank of her adherents stood Edward, third Duke of Buckingham, master of Thorn-

bury and Tunbridge, of Newport and Penshurst, of Stafford and Kimbolton; a peer who rallied to the side of Catharine chiefly out of jealousy of Surrey. Buckingham was her kinsman, since he also traced his lineage back to Edward the Third. He was related to the King, not only on the Tudor, but the Woodville side; his mother being a daughter of Richard, fifth Earl of Rivers, sister of Henry's grandmother, Queen Elizabeth. A man so near the royal house, so rich in lands and money, and so high in personal rank, the Duke might be, according to his fancies, either a strenuous friend or dangerous foe. At present, he was loyal. Elinor, his wife, a sister to Henry, fifth Earl of Northumberland, brought the great name and high connexion of the Percies to the Queen's side. Like others who derived their blood from Edward the First, Buckingham was called a claimant of the crown; a perilous name to bear in any age and country; and the Duke was somewhat loud in the assertion of his birth. If Henry's line should fail, his followers were sure to set him up against the rival claims of Courtney and Pole.

6. The Queen was fond of this great family; the only one in England which retained their ducal rank. All other ducal coronets had been lost. The Staffords looked on the Howards as an upstart race; and Catharine, having too much cause to fear their tongues, was willing to support the Staffords in their opposition to that rival house. All Buck-

ingham's kindred were about her. Henry, his brother, had a place at court. Lady Herbert and Lady Fitzwater, the Duke's sisters, held appointments in the closet. These great ladies and their husbands, Sir Walter Herbert and Lord Fitzwater, lodged beneath the royal roof. The Staffords and their connexions formed an innermost circle round the Queen.

7. No honours, places, and emoluments, seemed too great for this illustrious house. Lands, offices, and honours, rained on them and on their kin. The Duke aspired to add a second peerage to his family; and as the coronet of Wiltshire had once been worn by a Stafford, he besought the King to crown his brother Henry with that golden rim. A contest rose. That coronet of Wiltshire had been held and lost by two proud families—the Butlers and the Staffords—both of whom could trace their ancestry to Edward the First. Each family hoped to win it back. It was not easy to maintain that either family was superior to the other, either in descent, in dignity, or in connexions. If the Staffords held a dukedom, the Butlers held two earldoms in the Irish peerage, and a barony in the English peerage. Thomas Butler, seventh Earl of Ormond, was also Earl of Carrick and Baron Rochford. These Butlers were of saintly as well as royal race; being of the blood of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and holding in their family a heirloom and a talisman, the ivory horn of that imperious

saint. But still the point of passion in this contest for the Wiltshire coronet was the fact of Surrey and Surrey's son-in-law being parties to the suit.

8. Lord Ormond had no son to wear his honours, but his daughter, Lady Margaret, had sons; to the eldest of whom, Sir Thomas Boleyn of Hever Castle, his property and pretensions would descend. Boleyn had married Surrey's daughter, so that Surrey's grandchildren,—Anne Boleyn, her sister Mary, and her brother George, — were Ormond's heirs. Surrey, no less ambitious for his children than for himself, required no wizard to tell him that if Buckingham got this coronet of Wiltshire for his brother Henry, there was little chance for his own son-in-law. A contest raged between the two great families of Stafford and Howard, representing the Spanish and English parties in Catharine's anterooms, while little Anne Boleyn, the child most nearly touched, as things turned out, by these contentions in court, was nestling in the innocence of eight among the corn and poppies in the weald of Kent.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BOLEYNS.

1509.

1. A FAMILY of French extraction, coming from the Sieur de Brie, the Boleyns had lived at Salle in Norfolk from the days of Edward the First; living in a gentle and obscure condition, on their few paternal acres, until Geoffrey Boleyn, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, enlarged their prospects by his union with the heiress of a wealthy Norfolk knight. Moving from Salle to London, Geoffrey had taken a house in the Old Jewry, where his son Godfrey joined him. There they had settled down to trade; resolving to amass estates and imitate the Poles of Hull; who, springing from a burgher stock, had mixed their blood with that of kings. Attending to their shop, these country squires had gone on prospering in their craft. The old man, having won his rest, was laid beneath the flags of Laurence Poultney Church in the Old Jewry, while his son was rising in the world. Godfrey became master of his company and alderman of his ward. The times were troubled; for the strife of Lancaster and York was on; and officers in the city were selected for their strength

of brain, not less than for their wealth. Godfrey had won his spurs, and passed the grades of sheriff, alderman, and mayor.

2. Sir Godfrey, having filled his chests, and purchased Blickling Park and Hever Castle, lifted up his eyes in love; fixing them on Anne Hoo, sole daughter of Thomas, first and last Lord Hoo and Hastings, in whose right his son possessed a claim on the extinguished barony. Sir Godfrey lived at Hever, a baronial residence in the weald of Kent; and either in that ancient pile, or in his Norfolk house, his many sons were born. Thomas, his eldest son, called after Lord Hoo and Hastings, died in early life; on which calamity Sir Godfrey built a chapel to St. Thomas, as an act of penitence, and took that martyr for his patron saint. William, his second son, became his heir. A third son, Simon, passed into the Church. A daughter, Alice, married the famous chancellor and writer, Sir John Fortescue. At length the keen and kindly man of business slept his sleep; leaving by will a thousand pounds in money to the London poor; and ordering, in the face of country-seats in Kent and Norfolk, that his ashes should be laid in the Old Jewry by his father's side.

3. A man of ample means, his son, Sir William Boleyn, was received at court. Having kept his temper cool when other men were heated, he contrived to live through troubled days, to rally with the stronger side, and prosper in the winning camp.

Richard the Third had dubbed him knight, and Henry the Seventh had placed him near his son. Sir William was neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian, but he honoured and obeyed the reigning prince. Though he left his shop, that shop followed him. It was a time when money could be well laid out in land, not only with an eye to profit in the way of trade, but to consideration in the country and employment by the Crown. Sir William added park to park, and chase to chase, till his estate seemed suited rather to a royal duke than a provincial knight. A lofty marriage helped to rear his house. Sir Godfrey was Master of the Mercers' Company, and the Butler family had a close connexion with that guild. James, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, had founded in the Mercers' chapel, near the Old Jewry, a perpetual chant of two priests in worship of the patron saint, Thomas à Becket, 'of whose blood he was.' The Butlers, being descendants of Agnes, foundress of that chapel and sister of the saint, regarded this Mercers' chapel as their family shrine. Thus the Irish earl and City knight were brought together, in the chapel of St. Thomas; and their children, meeting at their prayers, fell into love, and made a marriage under the sanction of their common saint. At every step the Boleyns had been rising in the world. Geoffrey had won the daughter of a knight, Godfrey of a baron, William of an earl.

4. Lady Margaret Butler placed the Boleyn

family in connexion with the Geraldines and other Irish chiefs. Besides her saintly stock, Lady Margaret could boast of royal blood; being a descendant, through the Bohuns, of Edward the First. Ormond, her father, sat in Parliament as Baron Rochford, in the English peerage. James, her uncle, had sat in Parliament as Earl of Wiltshire; and the Irish lady looked to that earldom as the heritage of her son. Late in life, her father had taken to himself a second wife, in Lorie, widow of Lord Montjoy; but no male heirs having come of these second nuptials, no one could dispute her son's rights to Kilkenny Castle and the broad Kilkenny lands—unless it were her father's bailiff, Piers the Red. Piers was but a far-off kinsman of the Earl; yet being an Irish chief, and holding Brehon notions as to land belonging to the sept, disputes were not unlikely to arise with him as soon as the old lord should die. Beyond her saintly race and royal blood, Lady Margaret brought her husband Rochford Hall.

5. This Lady Margaret Boleyn bore her husband many sons and daughters. Thomas, her eldest son, was called after her family saint. He found the roadways of ambition open to his feet. Already, it was clear that Ormond would not leave a son by his second marriage, and that pretensions to the baronies of Hoo and Rochford, as well as to the earldoms of Wiltshire, Carrick, and Ormond, would devolve on Lady Margaret's eldest son. A character in keeping with his birth and wealth commended

him to careful parents. As became a namesake and connexion of St. Thomas, he was a grave and pious man, loving his book, his garden, and his home. A reader of such works as occupied the highest minds in Europe, he became a pupil of Erasmus, who admired and loved him, and in later days inscribed to him some of his choicest works. A lovely girl and haughty family listened to his suit; and Lady Elizabeth Howard became Sir Thomas Boleyn's wife.

6. In forming this connexion with the Howards, Boleyn fixed his place at court; attaching both his fortunes and his children to the party of that powerful house. Yet he had means and methods of his own for rising in the world. A man of many talents, he could hold his own in either camp or court, in either market or exchange. He won his spurs by personal bravery in the field. The course of trade was as familiar to him as to a Medici. No office in the treasury came amiss to him, and while his father-in-law was Lord Treasurer every office in that department seemed within his reach. Henry made him keeper of the exchange at Calais, and manager of the foreign exchanges in every English port. That Boleyn was an adept in finance the King was ready to admit; but would he vex the Queen and Buckingham by holding in reserve for him, as heir-general of Ormond, the disputed coronet of Wilts?

CHAPTER V.

THE QUEEN'S SECRET.

1509.

1. A MERRY life the bride and bridegroom lived at Greenwich; one day paddling on the stream, with mimes and minstrels in a second barge; the next day masquerading with their knights and damsels through the summer woods. Some sickness hung about the quays and wharfs, and they were happy in such frolics of the night as stealing to the King's Head in Cheape, where they might see the city watch go past. Diego never left their house. He kept the keys of Spanish ciphers, and translated every word that Henry wrote to Spain. Fernando's answers passed beneath his eye, so that Diego was a secretary of both the King and Queen. Not only in these letters written by Diego, but in all the records of that bridal year, the King and Queen appear as lovers, living the poetry of youth, and never for one instant absent from each other's side. A group of sombre figures in the background served as contrast to this central pair. So far as men who saw them dangling in the boat and loitering in the

park could judge, no groom and bride had ever found the bonds of wedlock sweeter than the King and Queen. 'My lord the King adores her,' wrote the man who saw them in the closest privacy of their home. It was a mutual flame. Not many men, it may be hoped, could gaze on that confiding pair without a secret wish that Heaven would bless their love.

2. No people in the world were more disposed to trust in signs and judgments than our Catholic fathers, nor was any race of men inclined to yield their minds more humbly to decrees of Heaven. They held the theory of a divine and personal government of this earth. God, they believed, was with them night and day, observing whether they obeyed His law or not, and giving or withholding His rewards according to eternal rules. If peace were reigning in the house, if sheaves were ripening in the field, if kine were fattening in the pasture, these things were but signs that God was with them in the house and in the field. A blessing rested on them, and their substance was increasing in the land. The sword of man, the fire of heaven, the plague of earth, were all regarded as the ministers of God. A Swit who railed at papal censures was expected to be smitten dead. When Cornish boors rebelled against the 'friend of Rome,' no one was surprised to hear that everything was wrong—their bread was rotten and their ale was sour. In each event of life our Catholic fathers

traced the hand of God; a warning to the wicked, a recompense to the good. If Catharine should be blessed according to the promise, all the mutterings of her enemies would be lost in one great chorus of delight. The heavens would be considered to have spoken, and the tongue of a revered archbishop would be silenced by the fiat of an all-wise Judge.

3. The Staffords, Percies, Poles, and Courtneys, held against all comers the validity of her union with the King. On any other topic Catharine's friends were free to differ and dispute; and mendicant friars like Father Forest and Father Peto, affecting low society and popular opinions, had little else than their devotion to the Queen in common with such peers as Buckingham and Dorset, who disdained to mingle with the crowd, and bore their honours with a loftiness beyond the King himself. In questions which affected Catharine, either nearly or remotely, peer and mendicant spoke a common language and pursued a common course. Nearest of all to Catharine lay that question of the papal bull. The moderate school of canonists denied, the ultra-montane school of canonists asserted, that a pope had power to publish such an act. Having need of the dispensing power, her friends became supporters of the ultra-montane school. As Warham held with the moderate doctors, Catharine's party rallied to the side of Fox. As Amboise was her chief opponent in the Sacred College, Catharine's party

set their teeth against the French. All those who had opposed her marriage in the past, all those who might disturb it in the future, were the objects of their spite. It was from fear of France, of liberal and reforming France, that Catharine's friends became supporters of the Signory. Buckingham sneered at Louis, and proposed to throw an army into France. He railed at Amboise, as a traitor to the Holy See. Andreas Badoer, the Venetian agent, thought these sneers and railings of such moment, that the Signory sent the Duke a formal vote of thanks.

4. No fear of future ills appeared to cloud the face of either bride or groom. A spring had welled up suddenly in Catharine's frame, which drove all care and forecast from her soul. She loved, and she forgot the past. Nor was the King less happy and forgetful than herself. His notion that the matrimonial code for princes differed from that of other men was fixed. Henry was bound where another man would have been free. He was right where another man would have been wrong. Each day they rose in youth and health, and after hearing mass in the Franciscan chapel, wandered to the river and the park. Why should they mope on things now left behind? Their life seemed all in front; a life of love, of poetry, of hope. Youth, peace, and pomp combined with love and song to round the natural beauty of their lives.

5. Once in the fall they left their nest for Rich-

mond, where the King had choice of sport and Catharine found a change of scene. The King was fond of boats and ships, and from the platform of his house at Greenwich he could count his barks as they went up and down the stream; here coming in with drugs and spices from the farthest East, there running out with wool and iron to the ports of Flanders, France, and Spain. Yet Richmond found much favour in his eyes. An artist in his love of pomp and colour, he was taken by the ample size and gracious beauty of a house on which the royal architect, his father, had exhausted the resources of his taste. Inside and out, that palace was a perfect sample of the Tudor style; red, warm, and quaint, with tower and buttress, shaft and cupola; and rooms all bright with gold and painted glass. The house and grounds extended from the river to the green. Below the royal windows flowed the limpid waters, going and returning with the tides, and bearing on their breast a brood of swans. In front, beyond the river, lay a stretch of light green meadow land, just roughened into picture here and there by clumps of cedar, elm, and oak; while on the left hand rose a ridge of wooded hill, and from that ridge of hill rolled out a vast and undulating park.

6. The King and Queen both liked that house at Richmond. Henry, having lived there as a boy with his instructors, had a young man's feeling for the spot where he had spent his student days. To

Catharine, Richmond was a palace of delight. At Richmond she had fallen in love; at Richmond she had been contracted to the King; at Richmond she had let the secret of her heart escape; at Richmond she had sickened of that strange disease which neither a physician's bolus nor a surgeon's knife could cure. To Richmond she had ridden with Lady Mary, coming from her joyless home in Croydon Park and from her fretful room at Durham House. The palace was connected in her thoughts, not only with the story of her love, but with the few bright memories of her widowed life.

7. As autumn waned, the King became aware of a domestic secret which the Queen and her confessor wished him, for a public reason, to conceal. His kingdom was about to have an heir! When Henry heard this news his blood ran wild, for he was yearning with his father's passion to behold male offspring at his knee. The pride of youth was in his heart, yet he was not more pleased on private than on public grounds. If Catharine bore a prince, his crown would be secure; all fear of civil war would pass away; and those who spoke against his union would be forced to hide their heads. If Heaven should bless his hearth, who would croak about a curse being brought on England? Nature was about to vindicate his bride. Yet those who stood around the Queen were anxious that the world should hear nothing of her hopes and fears. The issues were so grave, and the forebodings were so

many, that they feared to make a noise. Suppose they were deceived? No whisper, therefore, passed her door. The King, though free of speech and quick of feeling, kept his knowledge and his expectation from his nearest friends. Compton and Marney heard no more of what was going on than Surrey and Buckingham. Events must speak for him and for his partner, even if the mystery of his marriage should be equalled by the mystery of his firstling's birth.

CHAPTER VI.

CATHARINE'S SERVANTS.

1509.

1. EXCEPT Diego and some females of the chamber, nearly all the Spaniards were sent adrift; not only envoys and dueñas who had quarrelled with her confessor, but pages, chamberlains, and keepers of the plate. As soon as Catharine was crowned, a pent-up passion broke above their heads. Puebla had escaped her fury. Broken in mind and fortune, he had passed from public sight, to live the remnant of his days on a small pittance, which he took in shame, as otherwise he must have gone to Seville, where, in spite of all his prayers and services, his house had been invaded, and his daughter seized. Guter, Cuero, Esquivel, and others, were sent away in haste. On paying them their due, Catharine threw the money at them rather as alms to beggars, than as wages earned by honest men. Such words seemed harsh to persons who had served her many years, without having seen a ducat of their pay; but she was mistress now, and let them feel the edges of her tongue. By way of parting word, she told them they had been a worthless lot.

2. Juana, wife of Cuero, had been put into Elvira's shoes; but they had not been easy to this lady's feet. Catharine was a headstrong woman, with a notion that her servants were in league against her; and Juana, having neither birth nor talent in her favour, was unable to control her charge. The Queen dismissed this servant in a storm of rage. She wanted no dueñas. She was old enough to pick her way, and she had never done the right thing in her life until she learned to trust her native wit. In future she would rule her house alone.

3. Francisca de Caceres, her bedchamber woman, had much annoyed her. Courted by Grimaldi, an Italian banker, who had given his bonds for Catharine, and who held as his security the unpaid portion of her dowry, Francisca smiled on the Italian's suit, and might have got her mistress's consent to marry him if Fray Diego had not barred the match. Diego could not bear Grimaldi, who was leaning on the Spanish envoy, and in the daily bickerings of the ante-room was placing himself on that envoy's side. Diego spoke with his accustomed craft. A match of this Italian banker, he told his mistress, with a woman who enjoyed her confidence, would give him too much influence in her closet. Catharine got alarmed. Already there had been some trouble in the banker's books. Grimaldi, having lent money on her plate, without her father's knowledge, wanted Catharine to admit the state of

his account. So long as her confessor wanted money, she had begged Grimaldi to supply him from the funds he held in trust. What could the banker say? Fernando would require that money, to the utmost farthing, at his hands. On asking Guter what he ought to do, he found the envoy of opinion that his wiser course would be to send the dowry out of England, and invest the money in a foreign bank. On Guter's hint, Grimaldi placed some portion of the dowry out of reach, while Guter took upon himself the burden of explaining the affair in Spain. Diego, deeply vexed at this transaction, made his mistress feel that her Italian banker was a dangerous man. His suit was therefore crossed, and he was asked to justify his conduct in removing part of Catharine's dowry to that foreign bank. Feeling his strength, Grimaldi stood on his right. As Catharine owed him money, he hinted that unless she gave her bond for the amount, he would depart the country, taking with him the securities which he held. Catharine had been forced to give her bond; but in her passion with the money-dealer she had turned her woman out of doors.

4. Diego's triumph seemed complete; yet the Italian banker was in no despair. A banker holding Catharine's bonds in keeping must be called again to Durham House. When Catharine was arranging her affairs before her marriage, she was forced to take Grimaldi into council, and his wife was among the first who knew of that event coming

off. It was a question in the ante-room whether Diego would be able to retain his post, and the Italian's wife was waiting in her husband's home for an event which might replace her near the Queen.

5. Of all the Maids of Honour who had lived with Catharine through the miseries of her widowed life, but one remained to serve her in her altered state. Some had gone back to Spain. Agnes de Venegas married an English peer. Maria de Salazar settled in the Archduke's country. Maria de Rojas alone was left.

6. Agnes de Venegas married William Blount, fourth Baron Montjoy. Like all the courtiers of his day, Montjoy had seen rough work in camps; but to his great renown in arms he added the yet higher treasure of a great repute in arts. In Spain he would have been regarded as a Friend of Light; in England he was known as a reformer, long before that word became a passport to renown. Montjoy was no less ready with his purse than with his pen. Between a masque and joust, in both of which he bore his part, he was employed in bringing Erasmus into England, where he hoped that eminent master would be able to revive the long-neglected course of Greek. Erasmus loved him as a brother, and the finest compliments in his Epistles are addressed to him. Never had liberal science a more constant friend than Blount. With princes he was no less faithful in this mission than with college

dons. 'I would I had more learning,' sighed the royal youth, who spoke five or six languages, and knew as much theology as a doctor of the Sorbonne. 'Too much learning is not needed in a prince,' replied his mentor; 'it is enough if he encourage learned men.' 'Be that our care,' said Henry, 'for our kingdom would not thrive without them.'

7. While the King and Queen were toying in the woods of Greenwich, Agnes caught the eye and charmed the soul of Blount. The peer proposed to Catharine's friend; the maid of honour listened to his suit; and soon the happy pair were man and wife. Agnes de Venegas rose into Lady Montjoy, and found her proper home at Montjoy House, within the shadow of St. Paul's. Henry and his Queen were highly pleased with this affair, so closely following their clandestine match. Catharine had now a countrywoman of her own, not only in a high, but in a permanent place at court. Nor was the King less pleased with Blount. He sent the news with his own hand to Spain, and took some care to get a legacy which Isabel had left to Agnes. Henry expressed his hope that the example set by Agnes and Montjoy might be followed by many others, till the noblest families in Spain and England were united like the reigning houses by domestic ties.

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH SCANDAL.

1509.

1. No Spaniard save Diego was at Catharine's side. A Spanish doctor lived within her call, and two or three Spanish women of a lower grade were left, as people who would bow to her confessor's rule. In truth, this rule was strange, and gave some reason for malicious tongues. Diego was the sole director of her closet, where he claimed to govern, both in spiritual and in temporal things, and to extend his empire from the women to the men. He forced the servants to reveal to him whatever they might learn elsewhere. A Spanish father, as we know from Sanchez, had a license, in his zeal for searching hearts, to put such questions to his penitents as an English female would not give to either monk or priest; and Fray Diego, in his hurry to announce good news in Spain, was using his professional license in a way to cause some talk against the Queen herself.

2. Aware that when the servants she was packing off should reach their country, they might wag their tongues against her, Catharine begged her

father to defend her from their malice. She was his child. She had to do his work; and how could she perform her task unless he stood by her through good and ill report? She would not own a single fault. Her plate, she said, was fairly pledged; her banker was no better than a cheat; her woman was a faithless creature. As to Diego, he was the best confessor woman ever found. Already, in the days before her marriage, she had begged her father to retain and to support her favourite. 'Let him remain with me; I need him much; I cannot do without him. Write to him, and say that you are pleased with what he does for me. Command him never to forsake me. I implore your highness not to let him leave my service. Write to the King in London, saying you would like my friar to stay. Ask that he be treated and humoured to his full content. Write to the bishops, that Diego stays by your own expressed desire.' A queen, she was not bound to ask her father's leave to keep Diego, but she felt the duty of defending him against her father's ministers. 'If my confessor were the worst of men I would keep him, and make a bishop of him, in order to cast the lie into your envoy's teeth. Being what he is, I shall retain him all the more. I mean to have him near me always, if your highness will be truly served. Could I believe that you would take him from his office, I should be much annoyed, and should regard myself as having lost your heart.'

3. Too soon she found how much there had been need to put her father on his guard. Guter had no golden mouth, and in his rage against the Queen he left all chivalry behind. Juana de Cuero was no silent witness, and Esquivel had his injuries to redress; but Guter went beyond these officers of her household. While he was in London he had done his best to taint her name; and after what had passed between them, she felt sure that he would prate as freely when he got to Spain. 'You could not guess,' she told her father, mixing up these personal wrongs with offers of her service, 'nay, by your life, you could not guess how much that man has done to injure me.' Fernando saw that he must please his daughter. Catharine had won the prize, and he was not inclined to quarrel with a woman who controlled the English council. When she wrote, 'Believe in me, whatever you may hear from others,' he replied, 'I shall believe in you against the world.' She told him how to treat her officers. 'If they are bold of speech, I beg your highness will arrest and punish them; and when they have been well chastised, I shall be pleased if you will pardon them in my name; telling them that they are treated leniently because they are my servants and have lived beneath my roof.'

4. Aware how much Fernando longed to hail a prince, Diego fancied he could make his fortune by telling him the Queen's secret. Catharine gave him leave; but only after the King, her husband,

had opened the intelligence by a hint. Henry composed a note, in which he said the Queen was strong in health and gave him promise of an heir. If she should bear a son, not only he, but every man in England, would be gladdened by the fact. That such a blessing was to crown his love, he seemed to feel no doubt. He begged Fernando to rejoice with him, and ask his daughter to rejoice. 'Let Queen Juana hear this news,' said Henry, 'and commend me heartily to both the Queens.' Diego followed with such details of the closet as he knew Fernando would be glad to read.

5. No better news had ever come to Spain; for if a prince were born in London, Catharine would be mistress of the situation, and her father might dispose of England as he liked. The secret purposes for which he had been forging bulls and fighting battles, lodging one daughter in a mad-house, selling another into Portugal, and forcing a third on England, were to be attempted soon. Those purposes, not yet divulged to any human being, were the annexation of Navarre to Spain, and the formation of a Spanish kingdom on Italian soil. Neither of these great schemes could be attempted save with the assistance of an English army in the field. France would not suffer him to settle in the Pyrenees; Germany would oppose him in the plains of Lombardy. England alone could help him to exhaust the forces of these powerful states; and ere he ventured to begin his operations he must feel

assured of English help. Catharine was not yet strong enough; but if a prince were born, her kingdom would be made.

6. 'This is the greatest news of all,' the Catholic King replied to Catharine. 'God give you strength; since you, the King your husband, and the English people, have the thing so much at heart. Each morning, I shall offer up my prayers for you; nor shall I cease to pray until a prince is born. Be careful of your health; avoid exertion for a little while; even in your letters, use some other person's pen.'

7. As to Guter and the servants, she was not, he said, to tease her heart. Never would he listen to a word they spoke. He had already told them, and would tell them once again, that he was no less angry at their insolence than herself. Such folk must trouble her no more. As to Diego, he was pleased to find that her confessor had behaved so well. If he continued to deserve her favour, he should have preferment in the Church. Fernando thanked Diego for his zeal. 'No news,' he said, 'could give me so much pleasure as the tidings just received about the Queen. Serve her with loyal faith, and you shall have your meet reward.'

CHAPTER VIII.

FIRST-BORN.

1510.

1. At Christmas time the court removed once more to Richmond, for the sake of better air. Much sickness hung about the city wards, and revelled in the hoys and barges on the stream. The ships which passed the windows of their house were thought to carry the infection in their sails. Henry was out of sorts. His ailment was not much; yet grave enough to be reported to the Doge and Signory. Richmond was thought to be a healthier spot than Greenwich, and at Richmond they prepared to spend the New-year's feast.

2. In the dry air of Richmond Park, the King was soon himself. Catharine, to preserve her secret from the world, rode out, and danced, and watched his manly sports. These sports were not the play of boys and girls, but rather like the drill and exercise of actual war. Next morning after Twelfth Day, word was brought to Henry by a gentleman of his chamber, that Sir Edward Neville and some other knights were getting up a joust in honour of the

Queen. It was to be a great surprise, and deeds of prowess were to be achieved. A thought occurred to Henry. No one had seen him joust in public; for he had not appeared in open ring. He would adventure with these knights, but in such guise that he should not be known. Calling Compton, his groom of the stole, he proposed that they two should go into the little park, arm themselves in secret, ride into the ring, and challenge the successful knights to break a lance. Compton agreed. Two strangers challenged and were answered 'To your guard!' No one suspected who these strangers were; but every judge of tilting saw that they were masters of their trade. Stave after stave was broken, but the unknown knights still challenged every one to ride his best. At last one of the strangers fell. Neville had hurled him to the ground, with so much violence that the crowd imagined he was killed. The second knight advanced and gave some quick commands. 'God save the King!' was heard above the din of voices, and a space being cleared, Compton was carried into Henry's chamber, while the second stranger, lifting up his visor, showed his youthful face to the delighted crowd.

3. Two weeks after this feat of arms, and while the King was nursing Compton for his hurt, the peers and burgesses met in London for the first session of the new reign, and Henry came to Westminster in order to conduct affairs. His reign had opened well, yet there were signs of

coming storm. All England was excited by events abroad, and many of the shires were clamouring for a change at home. The barons were for war, the commons for reform. A large majority of the peers were ready to support the Pontiff, to enrol against the French, and try to bear the leopards, as their ancestors had borne them, from the Garonne to the Seine. A large majority of the burgesses were eager to examine into grievances, to talk of fines and mulcts unjustly laid, to overhaul the statute-books, and change an obsolete for a living law. In spite of peace, and an increase of trade, the realm was far from happy and content. Towns were decaying in many counties, orchards and corn-fields were being converted into pastures, and the poor were being driven from town to country, and from country back to town. Beggary was increasing. Young men were taking to the woods, young maidens to the streets, for bread. The jails were full of thieves and murderers; yet the judges never tired of hanging, and a gibbet was rarely seen without a corpse. No recent efforts had been made to purify the code, nor were the officers of justice held in much respect. England, though sound at heart, had many an ugly sore to show outside.

4. And she was sorest where she needed to be soundest—in the church, the college, and the convent, in the centres of her spiritual life. Religion had become too much a form, her service a disguising, and her minister an officer of State. A gross and carnal

superstition covered her. Learning was at the lowest ebb. Greek was neglected, Hebrew was an unknown tongue. A lazy and uncritical reading of the Scriptures was supposed, in spite of protests here and there, to be enough for either priest or monk. No man dreamt of sending out his brains in search of truth. Yet critics who descended lower than the surface, found the clergy less sound in manners even than in attainments. A sacred institution like the Church is difficult to assail. Law, usage, and authority are on her side. She is identified with peace and order, and her critics are denounced as enemies of God. Yet there had never been a time when bard and jester had not driven their shafts into her side. The clergy were accused of breaking all their vows; for if the satirists were right, no priest was ever meek, no monk was ever poor, no friar was ever chaste. All news that came from Rome confirmed these critics in their bad opinion of the clergy. Every one believed that popes and cardinals bought their places in the Church. No one supposed that Julius was concerned for souls, yet every man was told how much he hankered after money, troops, and towns. A pope surrounded by a family of bastards was a scandal, yet a pope surrounded by a staff of soldiers, marching at the head of armies, calling on cities to surrender, and hurling his ecclesiastical censures at an enemy in the field, was hardly less an outrage on the Prince of Peace. All

through the country men were chanting staves and cracking jokes against the clerical orders, and especially against those monks and friars who claimed to have no master save the Pope. Fox in the council-room, beset by men like Surrey and Wyat, was a type of hundreds of his less distinguished brethren in their priories and abbeys up and down the land. A cry for change was ringing through the shires, and those who were assembling for the session in Westminster were partners in this popular cry.

5. Peers and burgesses met in the Great Hall, where Henry came to them, and took his seat on a royal throne. When all were ranged in order, each according to his place; bishop and mitred abbot on his right; duke, earl, and marquis on his left; Sir Thomas Dowcra, Prior of St. John, and other barons, in his front; the King commanded Warham, his Lord Chancellor, to open the proceedings by a sermon. Henry gave him as a text: 'Fear God, honour the King.'

6. Some words of praise being given to Henry, the Archbishop turned to the necessity for reforms, not only in the State but in the Church. A word was spoken to his brethren of the upper house. 'The peers, both spiritual peers and temporal peers, should join the Commons in reforming the errors of past times, in utterly abolishing iniquitous laws, in moderating rough and severe acts, in passing good and useful statutes, and, most

of all, in seeing that the laws when made were truly, honestly, and invariably observed.' Thomas Inglefield was chosen Speaker for the Commons, and the King, inclined to please his people, dubbed him knight. A dozen bills were laid before the House. These bills provided for the household and the wardrobe, confirmed the Queen's settlements, and granted the King tonnage, poundage, and customs in the usual form. The rights and liberties of the Church were all affirmed. A bill was passed to curb excesses in attire. Bills were passed against escheators, perjurers, informers, and receivers; and as abstract resolutions are at all times lame and inconclusive, Parliament found a pair of scapegoats for the popular fury in Empson and Dudley, two of the late King's officers. These officers had been brought before the council, charged with having overpassed their warrants, and committed to the Tower. Dudley had been tried at Guildhall, Empson at Northampton; and as every one believed them to be guilty, Parliament, in order to appease the public passion, joined in the destruction of these hapless men.

7. Henry was jubilant with his secret hope. At any hour he might be summoned to embrace a son; and Catharine, lovelier in his eyes than ever, found she could dispose of him in any way she pleased. This golden hour was seized by her to spite the Howards and their kinsfolk in the weald of Kent. On Monday, the twenty-eighth day of January, while

the Lords were reading the Queen's bill, the contest for the coronet of Wiltshire ended by the King issuing his patent in favour of the Queen's friend, Henry Stafford. Surrey was foiled, and Boleyn's hopes were crushed. What bitterness was left on the defeated side, no prophet needs to tell; though Anne, the child who was to be the heiress of this family feud, was free in all the innocence of nine, from the fierce passion that devoured her kith and kin.

8. Two days later came a counter-blow. On Wednesday morning, Catharine felt a pain in one of her knees, and had to keep her room. The King was with her; also her confessor, her physician, and her Spanish women. No one else was trusted with the secrets of that royal chamber. Fox was no more in her confidence than Warham. Montjoy and Compton were equally in the dark. No English lady, no English councillor, was summoned to the ante-room. Badoer was aware that Henry was alert with hope; but the Venetian could not learn from spies and abigails when his heir was likely to be born. No one else knew anything. The English people were so perfectly deceived that no man save the King himself was privy to the facts. The symptoms grew more serious as the night wore on. Next morning, Thursday, the thirty-first day of January, 1510, a royal babe was born. It was a female child, and it was dead.

CHAPTER IX.

QUEEN-AMBASSADRESS.

1510.

1. In her misfortune Catharine reaped the benefit of her secrecy. Since no one knew of her mishap, no voice could whisper in the streets and convents that her day of chastisement had come. Six persons, and no more, had any inkling of the truth; the King and Queen, a friar, a physician, and two Spanish females. Yet the misery and mystery of that chamber in the palace, where his infant lay, were likely to awake strange memories in the royal breast. The King's window opened on that chapel in which his father slept; that father who had forced him to repudiate the woman who was now his wife. Across the water rose the palace of a man, his chancellor and primate, who had urged him to renounce his brother's widow as he would a deadly sin. Henry was fond of pomp and show; yet never had a pauper's brat, conceived in shame and born in penury, been hidden from the sight of men more stealthily than this daughter of a line of kings!

2. Yet, if Henry felt his loss, and suffered from the shame of having to conceal that loss, he showed no fear. At nineteen he could wait and see. To Catharine he was good and kind, but with the goodness and the kindness of a young and merry lad. He strove to make her romp and play. He made up parties for her pleasure, and he caught her with surprises in the ante-room. In the concealment of their loss, her part was harder to sustain than his; since she had physical as well as mental tortures to endure. The butts, the barriers and the chase, the council-board, the guard-room, and the treasury, all found the King employments which relieved his heart; but Catharine, in her feeble health, could find no solace in such public cares, though she was driven, in order to evade suspicion, to appear in company when she could hardly stand, to sit at table when a morsel choked her, and to sport and masque when she was sinking with a broken heart.

3. To blind the people in her ante-room she left her chamber and exposed herself to chill and damp. The time was winter, and the air at Westminster was raw. A cold, which fastened on her lungs, reduced her to a feeble state; and yet the part she had to play in this poor drama of deception forced her to dine in public, to appear at mass and revel, and to run about in company with her lord. Nor was her mind at ease. A doubt occurred to her whether she had acted well in letting Henry

know her secret. Let him smile and sport in public as he might, the King was now a disappointed man. A hope had been excited in his bosom, only to be shattered in a storm of grief. What thoughts were passing through his brain? What tongues were whispering in his ear? Would he return in his bereavement to the Case of Conscience and review the stretch of Papal power? Of late these questions had been laid at rest; but Catharine understood too surely that a new misfortune might revive them in appalling force. Her marriage was a test and an appeal. Suppose that test and that appeal should fail, as many in the council and the church expected they would fail? No one could doubt that failure would be ruin. If the heavens should bless her with a son, the world might hold her marriage to be good; if not, that world would judge her to be guilty of a fearful sin. Like all his countrymen, the King was waiting for events to speak. His fancies were so warm, his apprehensions were so eager, that she shrank from kindling in his breast a hope which the event might afterwards betray.

4. In her bewildered brain one thought at least took shape. She would not trust the King a second time. If she should need a councillor, she would seek him in Diego, not in Henry—as of yore. Fernando had not heard of her mishap, nor was he to be told until her fault had been repaired, and she could pat him with the tidings of a son

being born. In time to come, her husband should be treated, like her father, to a harem mystery and a sweet surprise. Diego entered into all these schemes; and it was understood between them that if Catharine were to have a second secret, they should hide it from the King as carefully as they kept it from the world.

5. Beyond these troubles in her closet, yet connected with them in a close degree, the Queen had reasons for suspecting that affairs might not flow on so smoothly in the future as the past. Of Henry she was sure; but of his councillors she was much afraid. A child of Spain, and sent to England as a servant of the state, she looked on her adopted country as the vassal of her native land. Her foremost duty, she imagined, lay to Spain, and to her parent as the Regent of Castille. A queen by marriage, an ambassadress by commission, it was hard for her to see when she was called to act as ambassadress and when as queen. In her the functions and the persons merged. Unable to refine, she wrote as queen what she could not have stated as ambassadress. In her desire to mollify a father whom she rather feared than loved, she pledged the country over which she reigned. 'Your grace's kingdoms are at peace,' she told her parent; meaning by his 'grace's kingdoms,' England, France, and Ireland! She gave him her assurance that he only need to speak, and see his orders carried out. According to her flatteries, Fernando was as much

the Lord of England as the Regent of Castille. 'The King, my lord, and I myself, are ready to obey and serve your highness, and I beg you to regard us in the light of your most dutiful children.' Not a councillor at the board save Fox would help her to redeem that pledge!

6. Yet he to whom these promises were given expected service and obedience to be rendered without stint. The day was drawing nigh when he must carry out his first design, by marching on Navarre, expelling the Queen, his niece, and adding her kingdom to his group of crowns. Navarre could offer no resistance to the armies he might set afield. His fear was France, now strengthened by what seemed the permanent annexation of Bretagne. Not only on dynastic but political grounds the French would fight him in the Pyrenees; nor could he doubt that they would stake their uttermost fortune on the field. Except in England, where was he to find the means of drawing off their armies from the south?

7. Fernando had his agents in Pamplona; but the Queen, his niece, had been so prudent in her bearing as to give no cause for him to interfere. She and her husband led a blameless life; a life of art and song, which touched the mountain manners with a Gallic grace and charm. Her court was liberal, learned, and polite; a court in which the Inquisition found no place. Fernando saw that he might play once more the game which he

had played in youth. The liberal King and Queen of Navarre might be denounced as enemies of Christ! By help of his Inquisitors, he might march into Pamplona as protector of religion and champion of the Holy See. He kept his purpose close; especially from his pontiff and his son-in-law. No man should guess his objects till his troops were in Pamplona, nor should any one feel sure about them till Navarre was broken and annexed. Meantime, he held the language of a soldier of the faith, whose minister of state, Ximenes, was engaged in carrying on a holy war.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY INTERFERES.

1510.

1. ALL eyes were turned towards Italy, where the leaguers of Cambrai were frothing at each other, and preparing for a future fight. France, more alert than Austria, completed her engagements ere the Austrians were afield; and Max, already jealous of her doings in Milan, was beginning to suspect her of designs on Rome. Julius was watching his French allies with uneasy eyes. Aware that Amboise meant to be his own successor in the Papacy, and hearing that the Cardinal was talking of a Great Reform, he feared lest Louis, tempted by his victories, might prove a dangerous neighbour to the Holy See. A Great Reform was needed; no one felt it more than Julius; not even that German brother, Martin Luther, who was then in Rome; but Julius felt no confidence in the reforming fury of French dragoons. No sight was more offensive to the Pope than French battalions streaming with drum and banner from the Alps.

2. Amidst his jousts and pastimes Henry was

observing all these leaguers with a jealous eye He thought Fernando wrong in siding with the leaguers; nor was Catharine able to prevent him from writing to her father in a somewhat haughty and exacting tone.

3. The Catholic King was working out his purpose in a full belief that English fleets and armies lay within his call. When the Venetian troops were pressed by sea and land, Fernando had begun to press them too. Unable to contend with all, the Signory offered to withdraw their garrisons from Apulia, and surrender all their ports to Spain. Fernando was content. Not only had he saved his money and his men, but, having settled his affairs without a shot, he was at liberty to resume his intercourse with Venice. It was well for him to have an understanding with the Doge. Towns gained in war were subject to be lost in war. If Venice should survive the league, he might be called to an account by her victorious fleets. If the Republic were destroyed, his harbours would be safe; but Venice was not easy to destroy; nor could she be destroyed without increasing, to his disadvantage, the ascendancy of Germany and France. Sweep Venice from the map, and France would be his northern neighbour, with an easier road towards Rome through the legations, than his own. New cardinals would fall beneath the sway of Amboise, and the chief opponent of his daughter's marriage with the Tudor king might be elected pope. On

many grounds, his policy was leading towards an understanding with the Doge. If he betrayed and left the league, would Venice cede to him for ever her Apulian ports?

4. While he was weighing the advantages of either crushing or preserving Venice, he received that letter from his son-in-law, which warned him not to lean too much on the effect of Catharine's charms. 'You tell me,' Henry wrote, in answer to some commonplace deceit, 'that after you had got your towns again, the other princes of the league invited you to join them in destroying the Republic, and you tell me you refused to have a part in their iniquitous design. The wisdom and the justice of your highness are beyond the reach of praise. For many reasons I regret this war. It is unmeet for Christian princes to molest the Republic, which has borne a high repute, not only in the West but in the East of Europe. Christians and Infidels are common witnesses of her worth. Venice, a rock against the tide of Islam, has rendered the most signal services to the cause of God. In any war that might be waged against the Infidels, she is essential to the Christian host; no other power on earth being fit to occupy her place. Therefore, the Republic must be kept intact.'

5. This letter was the product of a man who coupled acts with words. Henry proposed to form a league for the defence of Venice: even as the league of Cambrai had been formed for her de-

struction. England, Austria, Rome, and Spain, he thought, might enter such a league. France, if left alone, must soon withdraw her troops beyond the Alps. He had already warned the King of France; but Henry was in no great favour at the court of Blois, where Amboise reigned supreme; and a reply had come from Louis, which Catharine's friends denounced as impudent. Henry had better hope in Spain. He urged Fernando to consider the effect of ruining Venice. Who would be able to resist the French in Lombardy? Who would defend the passes in the Bolognese? If Venice were no more, could Central Italy protect herself? If once the road to Naples were uncovered, would his own dominions in the south be safe? True policy, he said, required that Italy should have a strong Italian nation in the north. Therefore, he was glad to find the Catholic King would have no part with those princes who talked of crushing the Republic of St. Mark.

6. No man knew better than Fernando when to yield. It might be only to the eye, but here he had no choice. A prince had marched into the field whose action he must take into account. At once he wrote to Catharine that he liked the King's proposals, and would give them his support; but he implored his children to be cautious in the earlier stage of this affair. A league between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, would be a work of time; but he was

entering on the task by opening a communication with the Pope.

7. Fernando was deceiving Catharine, so that Catharine might deceive the King. He had, in truth, commenced a correspondence with the Pope, but not for the defence of Venice as a bulwark of the Cross. Before he let the French suspect him of intending to desert them, he had objects to attain in Naples, which the French were certain to oppose, and which the Pope alone could help him to secure. Though he had taken Naples by the sword, he had not been invested with the fief. If king in fact, as Max was emperor in fact, he needed, like his uncrowned Austrian ally, the divine and visible sanction of his Church. Was Julius ready to endow him with that Papal fief? A second object was an abrogation of that article in the Treaty of Blois which gave the provinces of Campania and Abruzzi back to France, in case his second wife, Germaine de Foix, should leave no heirs. As Germaine had no living child, these provinces were regarded by the French as certain to return. Was Julius willing to annul for him, as vicar of Christ on earth, those articles of the treaty which restored his provinces to France?

8. While these affairs were in debate, Fernando wished the King and Queen, his children, to be patient. He had seen, he said, the letters sent by Henry to Louis, and the replies of Louis to Henry. Louis, he said, was rude and petulant; yet he advised his children not to think of answering

pride with pride. They must dissemble with the French. As to protecting Venice, he enjoined them as a prudent father to be silent till the League was formed. The Queen, to whom he wrote, was pressed to keep these matters secret. French officials were extremely active; every word the English sovereign wrote was read; and he advised that nothing of importance should be put in ink, except in her most private ciphers. Catharine was to act as Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XI.

COURT REVELS.

1510.

1. At nineteen grief is short. The King was eager to console and to amuse his bride, from whom he had no secrets to conceal. Each hour he thought of some new pastime to divert her mind. One morning he appeared before her in the chamber with a troop of gallants, dressed as outlaws of the wood in coats of Kendal green, with hose and hood, with sword and shield. The ladies screamed, on which the merry outlaws ran among them, took them by the hands, and laughed and capered till their breath was spent. At Shrovetide he prepared a feast for the ambassadors at his court in the great hall of Parliament. This feast was held in honour of his Queen as chief ambassador near his court. A crowd of foreign envoys—French, Venetian, Flemish, — were in London, treating with Fox and Surrey for renewal of their several treaties; but the Queen, in virtue of her birth and station, held the foremost place among these representatives of foreign powers.

2. Her reign as an ambassadress was shortly to expire, her action in that office having proved a failure. When Fernando read the King's letter, so little like the writing of a boy in love, whose motives might be ruled by pouts and kisses, he perceived that other agents must be used. This English youth was likely to pursue an independent course, and Catharine was unequal to his work. A prince who took that lofty tone must have a man of business at his side. Luiz Caroz, who had long been waiting for his papers at Valladolid, was sent to London; but before the Queen laid down her office, Henry, having closed his parliament and renewed his formal treaties with the Emperor, the King of France, and the Archduchess Marguerite, resolved to give a feast to the ambassadors of which the world should talk for many a day.

3. When all his company had come—the foreign envoys in their rich attire, the peers and bishops in their robes, and troops of dames, with whom was his sister Mary, 'Princess of Castille,'—the King led Catharine to a chair of state, as lady of the feast; and having seated her, he passed along the tables, showing each envoy to his place, and calling to his guests to make good cheer, and spend a merry time. Then slipping out of sight a moment, he returned with Henry, Earl of Essex, in the guise of Turks, with robes of bawdkin powdered with gold dust, turbans of crimson velvet rolled in golden bands about their brows, and scimitars of

curious pattern hanging from their waists. These Turks were followed by Henry, Earl of Wiltshire, and Robert, Lord Fitzwater, dressed as Russ, in yellow robes, in grey furred hats and turned-up boots, each carrying in his hand a Tartar axe. Next came Sir Edward Howard and Sir Thomas Parre, attired as Prussians, in doublets of crimson velvet, laced across the breast with silver chains, and pheasants' feathers in their caps. They marched into the hall with gentlemen holding lights and dressed as Moors. A mummery followed, in which Mary played the part of a Moorish princess, while the King strode up and down the chamber, making cheer for the Queen, the ladies of her court, and the ambassadors of foreign states. A masque, with dance and music, brought the revels to a close; on which the knights and peers retired, and every one went merrily to bed.

4. The knights and peers who masqued with Henry were among the nearest comrades of his youth. Essex, a gallant soldier, was his master in the art of war. Essex was to go with him to France, as captain of his army and companion of his tent; a stout and ready warrior, to be trusted in any post where strength of will and weight of hand were equally required. Wiltshire, with his sisters and his sisters' husbands, lived at court. One of these sisters was a friend and gossip of the Queen; another was suspected of some favour with the King. Compton wore this lady's colours, but ob-

servers smiled at this device, as meant to turn men's eyes astray. Fitzwater, husband of the lady in this comedy, was a sailor, who could fight on either land or sea. He was to follow Henry to the war; to be his captain in the field, his admiral on the quarter-deck; and win by loyalty and bravery the coronets of a viscount and an earl. Time was to bring no change. Though others were to rise and fall, he was to keep his office and his head, and die in his old age Lord Chamberlain and Earl of Sussex.

5. No less curious were the King's relations to the knights in silver chains. Sir Edward Howard, second son of Surrey, admiral of the fleet, and standard-bearer to the King, was uncle to the child then growing with the roses down in Kent, who was to be his second wife and queen. Sir Thomas Parre, a man of ancient lineage, with the blood of Saxon monarchs in his veins, was a connexion of the reigning house. Like Henry, he could trace his line to John of Gaunt. A man of wealth, as well as high descent, he had been adding to his large estates, by marrying Maud, co-heiress of Green of Green's Norton, in the county of Northants. A bit of family romance made Parre a notable man. On the death of Green, the property at Green's Norton had fallen into the clutches of Empson and Dudley, officers of the King's exchequer. Fines had been levied; and to save the orphaned girl from trouble, Parre had given his bond to pay nine thousand marks.

As money came in slowly, the law had been set in motion, and some of Parre's property in Westmoreland and Cumberland had been seized and sold. Maud Green had given her hand to the stout knight who suffered in her cause, and Henry, on succeeding to the throne, made haste to compensate the lovers by a full remission of their fine. These lovers were the parents of his sixth wife, Catharine Parre.

6. Ere long the Queen confided to Diego that she had a secret to conceal, and that she had not spoken of her expectations to the King. Diego was enjoined by her to lock this matter in his breast, not hinting what he knew, even in his private ciphers to the Catholic King. This time the Queen would raise no hopes in Henry's mind, and bring no snapping comments from Fernando's pen.

Book the Fourteenth.

MARRIED LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

SPANISH FAITH.

1510.

1. 'AVOID the appearance of a great desire to get a treaty signed,' Fernando wrote to Caroz. 'Make the thing appear as though we entered into this alliance for the benefit of our son-in-law, at his request; but for yourself, remember that a quick arrangement of this matter is of highest moment. If the King of France should move against us, the only remedy for such an evil, under God and our good right, would be a vigorous war conducted by an English army acting with our own.' Caroz was instructed to deceive the King and Council on the foremost point. 'You must be wary in your words; not suffering any one to fancy we are on the verge of war.' Fernando knew that if the

English councillors found him out, his daughter's influence would be weakened and his business spoiled.

2. Caroz found the Spanish party strong in Catharine's closet, and the English party strong in Henry's council-room. The King was going too fast for Spain; not only in trying to make peace in Italy, but in sending out so great a personage as Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, to Rome. Bainbridge called in Venice on his way; and by his manner and address he left no doubt among the Senators that England was disposed to put out all her strength. To Julius he was no less plain. Bainbridge assumed, like Henry, that the Pontiff's objects were—a league of Christian princes and a crusade for the Tomb of Christ. Julius nodded his assent, and spoke of Henry, a divine by culture and a soldier by adoption, as a natural champion of the Cross. 'And yet, your Holiness,' said Bainbridge, 'must dismiss this fancy from your thoughts; our master will not stir till the Republic is restored to her old place in Christendom.' There could be no mistake about his meaning. 'England will never fight against the Infidels unless the Signory are parties to the holy war.' On begging his Holiness to recall the censures launched at Venice, Bainbridge handed him a letter from the King, in which the Pontiff was entreated by Henry 'to absolve his friends, the Venetians,' from the curse. Henry was too much in earnest for his father-in-law, and Caroz was told to study how to check and turn the current of his zeal.

3. Knowing the Regent of Castille too well, Julius was slow to either grant him the fief of Naples or annul for him the treaty of Blois. At heart, Fernando cared no more about his Pontiff than he cared about his daughter. Men were nothing but his tools. So long as they were useful he held to them; when they ceased to serve him he turned against them with a cynical laugh, as people who had always been his dupes. 'They tell me the Pope is inconstant,' ran a letter to his Roman agent, Vich: 'what need I care? The Pope is nothing to me but an instrument. I value him very little, and the instant he has served me I shall fling him off my hands.' He knew that Julius wanted his assistance; but before he helped the Pontiff he insisted on having an investment of that Neapolitan fief.

4. Nor was he ready for a breach with France. The Emperor still called him a usurper in Castille. To all his stories of the Queen's unfitness to conduct affairs, Max answered with effect, that if the Queen were crazed, the kingdom of Castille belonged to Karl, her eldest son, on whose behalf he claimed as guardian, grandfather, and Emperor, to exercise the sovereign power. Amboise was trying to arrange this quarrel in the general interest of his league, and after some delay he hit on plans to which he thought all parties might subscribe. Cæsar wanted money, Fernando wanted sway. Amboise decided that Fernando ought to buy the Emperor's rights; paying him fifty thousand dollars in a lump, and pro-

mising him twenty thousand dollars every year. On these conditions, Max was to leave the government of Castille in Fernando's hands. The Emperor signed. On making such a bargain for Fernando, Amboise had freed his arm for action, and the use to which Fernando turned his freedom was to strike his benefactor in the face.

5. Freed on the side of Rome and Austria, he had only his son-in-law, the King of England, to cajole. 'Use every means within your power,' he wrote to Caroz, 'to complete the articles.' All tricks were to be tried, in order that the English people might be compromised with France. On finding how the council were divided in opinion, Caroz thought it wise to cloak his purpose. Surrey was stronger in the council than his rival Fox. Poynings was a comrade of his son, the admiral. Wyat was a neighbour of his daughter, Lady Elizabeth Boleyn. Wyat's son, Thomas, a little man of seven, was the playmate of Anne Boleyn, and the heroic model of her brother George. No connexion could be closer than that which bound the Howards, Wyats, and Boleyns, to each other; a connexion that was to leave enduring traces in our annals and our literature. Darcy and Marney leaned to Surrey's side. But on the other hand, Fox had unlimited influence in the closet, where the Staffords, Poles, and Greys obeyed his prompting, and, as Badoer told the Signory, he was called 'the other king.' In dealing with a court and council so divided, Caroz dared not

name the objects he had most in view. Dropping the names of France and of Navarre, he told the King and council that his master had no other purpose than to gain the sympathies of England for a war against the Moors!

6. Fox thought this Spanish envoy spoke the truth. By nature Fox was dull and slow, and having once been told that Catharine and her father wanted peace in Europe, he was long in seeing that the Spaniards were about to hoist another flag. Peace suited Fox. A state of war was in the last degree unfavourable to priestly rule. As soon as drums began to roll, Surrey, he saw, must occupy the foremost seat. In Fox, a love of peace was love of place; and in his dealings with ambassadors he let them see that he was standing chiefly on his own defence.

7. Had Fox been free to follow out his bent, he would have waited till the allies cut each other down; but he was forced to think of the King's words as well as of the Queen's hopes. 'The French are growing great,' said Badoer, in the way of warning. 'That is so,' sighed Fox, who was suggesting in his dulcet tones that Venice ought to yield, 'but Cæsar only wants to have his own.' 'Cæsar has got the whole of what belonged to him, Gorizia and Trieste,' returned the Venetian. 'Yes,' rejoined the bishop, 'but he asks for Padua and Vicenza.' 'Padua and Vicenza never were imperial cities.' Fox was not to be convinced. 'At present,

nothing need be done,' he said; 'another year, the aspect of affairs may change. The Signory will not perish, and their enemies may fail. King Louis is in feeble health. It is by waiting on events that we can serve you best. Our prince is young, but we are working for you both in Spain and Rome. Allow the present year to pass. You have an army of your own; the Pope is with you now; in time, in no long time, the Signory will get her own.' Badoer told his masters that such impotent chatter made him sick.

CHAPTER II.

ENVOY AND BISHOP.

1510.

1. On finding Fox so firmly bent on peace, Caroz conceived that Catharine's bishop had been bribed by Louis. 'It is hard,' he said to Henry, in a private audience, 'to trust in any one.' At first he spoke of Germans only—persons near the Emperor, in the pay of France; but soon he brought the topic home. 'The French,' he said, 'are so well served, they hear of every word we speak, and work against us with a perfect knowledge of our plans. In several quarters there are strong suspicions. May I beg your Highness to inform me which of the councillors we can trust?' 'On your affairs,' the King replied, 'speak to no one save the Bishop of Winchester.' 'Do you confide in him?' 'Well, yes,' he laughed, 'you know his name is Fox, and people say the man is like his name.'

2. Deceiving both the King and minister, Caroz asked for articles against the Infidels, not against the French and Navarrese. No one objected to such articles. 'Why not conclude this union?' he in-

quired; 'your Grace has settled the affair in principle, why should we not proceed to shape the details?' 'I desire no better,' said the King, too happy for a chance of drawing his crusader's sword; 'I am prepared to sign.' 'I, too, am ready,' answered Caroz. Bainbridge had met with much success in Rome, where Julius had withdrawn his censures and arranged the terms of peace with Venice. Vich, though acting with the French in public, gave his secret help to Bainbridge, and affairs were turning out so well in Venice that the King supposed the moment for his hosts to march was nigh. 'Arrange the articles at once.' 'We shall,' the Spaniard answered. 'Can you sign without awaiting further orders?' asked the King. 'Yes, I have power to sign all articles that your Highness wishes to set down.' The King, delighted by such confidence, assured the envoy he would find some way of showing what he felt for Spain. 'Be good enough,' said Caroz, 'to command some member of your council to prepare a draft of articles.'

3. Surrey and Fox being absent, Henry called in Ruthal, and desired that plodder to arrange the details of a league against the Infidels. Ruthal was a dull and faithful clerk, whom Fox had used to copy out despatches till he learned to write them for himself. In matters needing tact and sympathy, Ruthal was good for nothing; but in formal writings he had gained a knack of putting hasty thoughts into their fitting dress. Humble

and retiring, Ruthal made no enemies. Fox, who pushed him in the Church, had got for him the Deanery of Sarum and the Bishopric of Durham. Once, indeed, this slow and scrupulous priest had gone ambassador to France, but only to exchange a paper ready drawn. The King remembered him as one of the six witnesses of his repudiation of the contract made to marry Catharine when he came of age. By writing hard, by speaking softly, and by doing what he found to do, Ruthal had scratched and crawled into the offices of Councillor and Secretary of State.

4. Three or four councillors were told to help him. As a draft of treaty had been laid by Fox before the council, every one was ready to discuss his terms; but Ruthal, timid and suspicious, sent a messenger for Fox. Fox came to town and went to the ambassador's house. Caroz, seeing they were weak, and believing they were false, stood warily on his guard, though he received the two old men with his accustomed smile. 'They caused me much disgust,' he wrote to Spain, 'and led me to suspect that things were wrong.' Yet, since his business lay with them, he kept his temper smooth. Supposing that these clerical friends of Catharine were ambitious and corrupt, he felt no scruple in trying the effect of bribery in one of bribery's most sinful shapes.

5. In going through the articles, Fox was led to speak about affairs in Rome. The Pope, he said, was much afraid of France, and of the projects she had

formed. Amboise expected to be Pope; and Louis was so potent in the Sacred College that a clear majority of votes seemed certain to be cast for him. If Amboise were elected Pope the French would rule the world. Fox had no need to hint how Catharine's marriage might be treated in the papal courts if Amboise were elected to the holy chair. To check these French designs, the Pope, said Fox, proposed to name as many Spanish and Italian cardinals as would turn the vote. 'It would be better,' dropped Caroz, 'to create some English cardinals.' 'It is expected,' Fox replied, 'that my Lord of York, ambassador at the Vatican, will receive that dignity.' Caroz drew him on. 'One cardinal is not enough for England,' he rejoined; and taking Fox aside, he whispered in his ear, 'Why should not you, my Lord of Winchester, be made a cardinal?' Fox lowered his eyes, and muttered that he had not dreamt of such an honour. Caroz saw how closely he had hit his mark. 'My Lord of Durham,' he found an opportunity of saying to Ruthal, 'you ought to be a cardinal.' Ruthal replied, as Caroz told his master, 'with the same duplicity as Fox.' 'We English never ask for favours,' said the Privy Seal, returning to the subject; 'if we cared to ask, we should be oftener made cardinals than we are.' 'But when the cause of Christendom is at stake!' urged Caroz. 'If the French were masters of the papacy, every kingdom of the Cross would be in danger. There should be a group of English and Castillian cardinals, for

only these two nations can oppose a barrier to the French.' On seeing how his arrow sped, he added the daring falsehood that Fernando was already urging the promotion of Fox and Ruthal on the Roman court!

6. Before they left his house, both Fox and Ruthal had a word with him apart. Fox begged him to sound the King about this project of creating cardinals. He was to name no names; the King must not suspect them of ambition; yet the question might be raised. Caroz replied that he was proud to serve so excellent a prelate. 'Will you leave with me the papers we have read? I shall be glad to study them with care before we sign.' Fox left the articles. Within a week both Fox and Ruthal came to him by stealth, to hear his news about the cardinal's cap. Already he had news to cheer them on! Yes; he had opened the affair. The King, he found, was well disposed. On showing Henry the advantage of having two or three English cardinals, his Highness offered to commence negotiations with the Papal Court. 'Could you induce the Catholic King to spur my master with advice?' asked Fox. Caroz would do his best. 'Our Prince,' said Fox, by way of explanation, 'is young, impatient of affairs, and eager for the pastimes of his age; all serious things are apt to suffer from his delays; but if the Catholic King, whom he regards so much, would spur him on, this business might be carried through.' Finding how much he was gaining

by his simoniacal offers Caroz begged Fernando to indulge the vanity of his daughter's partisans with a little praise. 'Call them your friends,' he said; 'all sorts of good may spring from such a note as I suggest; and both the bishops will be readier to oblige and serve you.'

CHAPTER III.

THE CONFESSOR.

1510.

1. CAROZ got on faster with bishops whom he could tempt with cardinals' hats, than with a friar who, vowed to penury and obedience, was supposed to look for no rewards on earth. Diego held aloof from the ambassador, nor could the agent reach him with his crafty whispers. Caroz made a bad impression on Diego's mind. 'I cannot make the smallest use of this confessor,' he complained; 'no one could give me softer words than he, but then he gives me nothing else.' A something in the envoy and his mission rendered him an object of distrust to Catharine's spiritual guide. Diego had a way of looking at the Queen's affairs which Caroz was forbidden to indulge. He thought of Catharine, rather than of Spain. Seeing that what was best for England was also best for her, Diego wished his penitent to seek her personal gain in what was good for her adopted land. To Caroz such advice seemed criminal, and he was soon describing Fray Diego as a traitor to his native prince.

2. Fox hated the confessor on grounds not far apart from those of Caroz; for the minister of Catharine's party found himself daily thwarted by a man who felt no loyalty save to herself. Diego cared no more for Fox than he cared for Caroz. In his ascetic eyes, these priests were nothing more than ministers of state, pursuing earthly ends by earthly means. An enemy still more dangerous to the friar was Compton, Henry's groom; a man who seldom left his master's side. Since Compton's nursing in the royal closet, Catharine had begun to feel no little jealousy of this favourite groom. Diego shared her feeling, and the groom repaid them with his cautious and abiding hate. A hot and stubborn man, unguarded in his words, Diego kept amidst his enemies a loyal heart for Catharine, whom he studied to preserve from worldly bishops and unscrupulous ambassadors, who were making her their tool. So far as he could see, the business to be done by Caroz with the English council was of such a nature that his royal mistress ought to have no part in it.

3. In place of helping Caroz with the King and Queen, as he might easily have done, since he was near them in their private hours, Diego put a hundred obstacles in his way. Free access to the Queen, on which that envoy counted, was refused to him by the confessor's orders. No one dared to disobey this rule. When Caroz came to Greenwich, he was told to wait in ante-rooms, with abigails

and monks; and, after waiting many hours, he was sometimes sent away unheard. No aid was given him in his intercourse with Fox and Ruthal, nor was Caroz sure that counsels hostile to his master's business were not whispered in the royal ear. An adept in deception, Caroz tried to win the friar with flatteries. 'I praise him much, and yet not overmuch, as he would otherwise suspect me of deceit; and when a messenger arrives from Spain, I go to him and say the King, my lord, is highly pleased with him. I tell him that I keep no secrets from his ear, having the King's command to tell him everything, because his highness trusts him in what concerns his service as he trusts myself.' Diego was not moved by these caresses. 'He is so cold to me,' the envoy growled, 'that I have not been able to use him in the smallest thing that has been done.'

4. Not many weeks elapsed ere Caroz was as much convinced as Guter had been that Diego was a man unfit to be about the Queen. 'Never, in all my life, have I seen so vile a fellow,' he reported; but the context of his letter shows that he was thinking less of personal than of political turpitude. 'His mind is hardly right, yet he prevents the service of his highness by keeping the Queen engaged, so that I am unable to make use of her. No one in the household comes to see me; nor dare the Spaniards whom I meet at court be seen to talk with me. If I beg him to inform the Queen of this and that, he answers me with reasons, and either will not speak

to her at all, or speaks in such a manner as to do no good. In fine, he is the greatest rascal I have ever known.' Some hints were dropt that Fray Diego should be called to Spain. The friar affected to be ready to go: 'My business in this country being to serve God, your highness, and the Queen, my lady, with a loyal heart, when I am bidden to depart, I shall return into my convent cell with joy.' But as the Queen refused to let him go, Caroz had to find how he might humour and deceive a man whom he could neither crush nor drive away.

5. Catharine supported Diego in both her closet and her ante-room. To gain him credit in Castille, she suffered him to tell domestic secrets to the Catholic King. Fernando had not heard the truth about her dead child, nor would she let him know of that mishap till her confessor could assure him of her future hope. 'That business,' the confessor wrote, when he was free to speak, 'was kept so close that no one knows of it, even now, except the King and Queen, two women, a physician, and myself.' But he had other than old tales to tell. 'The Queen is high in health, and the most beautiful creature in the world.' There was a second promise in the air. 'No one yet knows it save her highness, and myself; she has not spoken to the King; me, only, she has told.' This message let Fernando see where he must look for help when he would work through Catharine on the English court. 'You may believe this news,' Diego said; 'a thing as true as that I am

a man.' Nor were the confessor's tidings yet exhausted. Catharine's happiness with the King, and Henry's happiness with her, were points on which Diego loved to dwell. 'The King adores her, she adores the King; your highness ought to praise the Lord for giving you such children as the King and Queen; children so wise, so learned, and so perfect in their several parts.'

6. The court still wore a festive air; and no one in the palace gave much thought to either Amboise and his Great Reform, or Catharine and her great appeal. Gentlemen dressed in white, put green branches in their hats, and stood around the butts while Henry fired his bolts. No archer in his guard could bend a stronger bow, nor shoot a greater length, than Catharine's husband. Henry and two companions challenged all the world to stand at barriers, to cast the eight-feet lance, to fight with a two-handed sword. Some knights took up the glove, but Henry and his men received the chief applause. Such deeds delighted soldiers, who desired to see their master give his mind to warlike sports. But he was no less busy and successful in the arts of peace. His day was spent in shooting, singing, casting of the bars, and playing on the flute. An hour was given to wrestling in the morning; another hour was given to setting music in the afternoon. A dance at night was followed by an early mass, in both of which he bore an author's part. For pictures he displayed an early love, and

he collected jewelry and armour of the finest workmanship from distant lands. Such tastes were grateful to the Churchmen, who desired to see their master busy with the arts of peace.

7. Yet things were not so smooth at court as Catharine tried to make Fernando think. Diego was uneasy, and Compton's pretence of serving Lady Fitzwater only roused his jealousy on the Queen's behalf. Caroz heard of breezes in the house; light airs as yet, but heralds of a storm. 'All sorts of things are happening in the palace, which I ought to know in detail from a trusty source,' he wrote to Spain in something like dismay. 'The King and Queen are young; they must have change of objects and affections; yet I have no person in the closet who can bring me news of what takes place from day to day.' Caroz was toiling at his mission in the dark.

CHAPTER IV.

DOMESTIC STORMS.

1510.

1. A SAMPLE of the things going on at Greenwich, that Caroz ought to know if he must serve the King, his master, he described to Almazan, and through him to the Regent of Castille. This matter was the first dark cloud that fell on Catharine's wedded love.

2. 'Two sisters of the Duke of Buckingham,' Caroz wrote, 'both of them married women, live in the palace; one of them being a pet of the Queen, while the other is said finds grace in Henry's sight. The King is often in this lady's room. Some people say this love-affair is not the King's, but Compton's.' Caroz then produced his reasons for believing that Compton was merely acting as a blind. 'Compton, it is whispered, carries on the thing for Henry; which is likely, as the King has shown such anger at the whole affair.' Next came his tale. 'The lady whom her highness likes, being anxious for her sister's sake, took counsel with the Duke, her brother, with her husband and her sister's hus-

band, as to what they ought to do. After some talk, the Duke stole privily to his sister's room to see her, and while they were engaged in talking Compton dropt in to see her. Buckingham was hot. High words, and even threats, were used; on hearing of which the King, incensed at this unseemly quarrel in his palace, rated the Duke so fiercely that his blood was roused. 'I will not sleep beneath this roof another night,' cried Buckingham, bouncing from the room. The lady's husband then rushed in, and carried her to a convent sixty miles away. Next morning, Henry, suspecting the sister near the Queen of stirring up this mischief, turned her out of doors. Thus, all the Staffords have been driven from court. Nor is the King content with emptying Catharine's closet. In his anger, he declares that he is watched by spies, who lurk about his palace, waiting on his steps, and seeking in his unguarded moments for a cause of tattle with the Queen. He says the Queen's favourite sets them on. But that he fears to raise so great a scandal, he would clear the house. Every one can see that he is vexed with Catharine, and that Catharine is vexed with him. No one knows how it will end. This storm is at the height.'

3. The friends of France took hold of this affair to push their policy and advance their interests. Docwra, Prior of St. John, was named a special commissioner to receive the French instruments, and the former treaties with that country were renewed.

Surrey obtained for his daughter-in-law, Anne Plantagenet, a series of royal grants, including the manor and castle of Wingfield, in exchange for a shadowy claim on the lands of her father, Edward the Fourth. A dozen manors came into the Howard family; a large and present gain for them, although the grants were limited to Lady Anne and her heirs direct. If the coronet of Wiltshire had not already passed from Henry's hands, the Boleyn claim might easily have been reserved.

4. While King and Queen were bickering, Caroz was engaged with Ruthal. Fox had fallen sick, and Ruthal was appointed sole commissioner for the Crusade. Step by step Ruthal and Caroz fixed the articles of a league against the Infidels. This treaty was a masterpiece of Spanish art. Catharine and her marriage were declared to be the motives for a new and closer league of England with Castille. The royal families being united, peace and friendship were to reign between the crowns by sea and land. Each party bound himself and his successors not to injure, nor attempt to injure, nor permit another state to injure, his confederate. In case his ally were attacked, each party pledged himself to warn the offender off, and should he not obey the summons, to compel him by the use of force. One clause was introduced, in which the name of France appeared. If either party were at war, the articles stipulated that he might request his ally to assist him. Should the aggressors be

the King of France, the party suffering from his violence might ask his ally to command his troops in person. Each of the contracting parties was to pay his own expenses. Neither was at liberty to sign a separate peace, nor cease from active operations in the field, without approval of the other side. Should either sickness or other reasonable cause prevent the King from making war in person, he was bound to send a captain in his place, with such an army as he might have led in person had he been afield. Should one of the contracting parties gain possession of any towns, fortresses, provinces and kingdoms, which belonged to the other, he was bound to yield them up without dispute and without delay.

5. Caroz was satisfied. A better bargain for his master, seeing what purposes that master had in view, could hardly have been made. Ruthal had no conception of the meaning which he put on the articles. The envoy gave Fernando an assurance that without the simony he could never have got these articles signed. 'I am convinced,' said Caroz, 'that unless I had excited in the breasts of Fox and Ruthal the desire of being created cardinals, this treaty would have been delayed, and never could have been concluded in the present shape. The men are very hot about it, and have called to see me on the subject many times.'

6. A courier was about to start for Spain with news of his success and copies of his documents,

when Caroz heard a rumour from the palace which was likely to undo his work. Since Francisca's marriage to the Italian banker, he had no informant near the Queen; yet he had many spies in pay, and nothing of importance to his master could be hidden from him long. This rumour might be true, and he was bound to learn what could be learned. The tale would be received with so much anger in Valladolid, that he would gladly have been able to deny its truth. Unhappily for Catharine, the reports were true.

7. In her excitement over the affair with Lady Herbert and Lady Fitzwater, Catharine took her room. Not many persons in her household knew about her hope, nor was the natural time of her rejoicing near. Annoyed and ill, she trembled in her fear of what might come to pass. The saints alone could help her, and in pain and misery she invoked her saints. One saint she singled from the rest for a peculiar vow; that Pedro the Inquisitor, whom the Friends of Light had slain in the cathedral of La Seo; and for whom her father had been building a magnificent shrine. San Pedro was the newest martyr in a land of martyrs, and a type of every dark and bitter phase in her religious life. To him her mother, Isabel, had made a vow at Alcala. To him she, therefore, offered up her vows in Greenwich, that Pedro the Inquisitor might assist her weakness; Catharine gave him one of her best head-gears for his statue in La Seo.

To prove her earnestness, she sent this head-gear by a Spanish woman, who, to make the gift more striking, was immediately on presenting it to take the veil.

8. Ill-fortune waited on her enterprise. The novice had a worldly-minded uncle in Pedro, one of the Queen's chaplains, who took the Queen's head-dress from the girl by force, asserting in a brazen voice, that Catharine had bestowed it on his niece, not on the saint. Pedro the Inquisitor was deaf to Catharine's prayers.

CHAPTER V.

MYSTIFICATION.

1510.

1. A MYSTERY hardly less complete than that which had concealed the birth of Catharine's boy, concealed from common eyes the story of her second girl. The world knew nothing, nor was any mention made of the affair in chronicles of her reign. So perfect was the secrecy observed, that Caroz, though the matter was of so much moment to his master, was uncertain what was taking place. Yet he had known for several days that something was expected to occur. A week before the Queen's mishap, Diego told him what he called a 'wild story,' for the friar assured him that neither Spain nor England would have long to wait for that link between the crowns for which they prayed. Caroz dared not send this news to Spain; for he distrusted every word from the confessor's lips. Diego, as he fancied, had a motive for deceiving him. The articles were signed, the envoy's fortunes made. Diego, having had no share in that success, might wish to prove that he could also send good news.

Caroz kept Diego's story to himself, until he found some safer evidence of the fact.

2. Such evidence was not an easy thing for him to find. Of those who lived outside the closet, Badoer was the first to guess the truth, but Badoer kept his secrets for the Signory. 'The Queen,' he wrote, 'is likely to present his highness with an heir to his crown; and after that event the court will move about.' Though Henry was a young and active prince, he had not left his bride one moment since his bridal day. 'It is remarked as strange,' said Badoer, 'that since his father died, the King, though full of life and fond of exercise, has never yet been more than twenty miles from London.' Greenwich, Eltham, Woking, Richmond, Windsor, were his points of distance; but his days of idleness were now to end. A journey was arranged for him; a progress through the land, in which he was to take a round of cities, ports, and shires, and touch the four extremities of his realm. The King was going to see and let himself be seen. So soon as he had kissed his child, he was expected to depart.

3. The gaiety of a youthful court assisted in misleading Caroz. Henry was at play from dawn till dusk. Two days a-week were given to tournaments on foot, four days a-week to archery and running at the ring. Circles of knights were formed in honour of Amadis of Gaul and Lancelot of England, who contended for the prize of beauty, man to man, and horse to horse. A ring was formed, divided into two half-

moons by barriers built breast high, so that the combatants could not grasp each other. Clothed in peaks of steel, covered with metallic casques, they fought with lances, tipped with iron and blunted at the points. When they had thrown their shafts, they snatched two-handed swords, each knight delivering twelve attacks. The younger men were skilful in these sports, but no one seemed so fond of fighting in them as the King. 'He never misses being present at these tournaments,' said the Spanish minister.

4. Vexed by her husband, robbed by her chaplain, and neglected by her saint, the Queen was left alone in fretful mood and feeble health. In secrecy and silence, she miscarried of a female child.

5. On questioning members of the council as to what was happening, Caroz found the councillors still more ignorant than himself. No one appeared to know the secrets of that palace by the water-side. The councillors were vexed to learn from him that ugly rumours were afloat. Such stories touched the King and his succession; and the laws of treason, passed to guard the royal lineage from seditious critics, were elastic and severe. One word about the reigning house might bring the loftiest head in England to the block. These councillors told the Spaniard that no royal infant had been born; the story was a fiction of the ante-rooms; and Caroz, staggered for a moment, fancied that these councillors knew and spake the truth.

6. Yet Caroz kept his courier back. His message was important; yet this palace news, if true, might be of more importance to his master than the articles of peace. As Catharine kept her chamber, and the King seemed dull and blank, Caroz felt assured that something had occurred, which his allegiance to his master bound him to unravel and report. What should he write? Unable to pump Diego, he applied to Catharine, for her news. A messenger, he told the Queen, was ready to depart; he wished the King, his master, to be well informed; but in the matters which concerned her highness, he desired to have her leave for what he wrote. She answered with a prompt refusal. He must write about his own affairs, and leave her to report herself. But he might let the courier wait, she added. She was writing to the King, her father, and the messenger need not tarry long. Caroz obeyed. Night came, but not these letters from the Queen. The courier doffed his boots, and slept. A second day crawled by; a third, a fourth, a fifth. The matter of the treaty pressed; but Caroz dared not give his man the signal to depart. Meanwhile he saw how much the councillors were perplexed.

7. Ruthal and Fox confessed to him that Catharine was enduring great afflictions. She was suffering from a shock; her pulse was feeble, and she needed rest. But there was still some room, he fancied, for deceit. Wild stories were afloat, but whether they were true or false he could not learn.

A dubious tone prevailed at court. No one seemed to blame the Queen in words, but Caroz found that many persons were disposed to blame her in their hearts. 'In their politeness,' he observed, 'they lay their censures on her women;' yet he noticed as a sign of evil that her partizans made no effort to conceal from him their anxious and forecasting fears. 'What version of the facts will you put out?' he asked them; adding, from the evidence about him, that the government might find it no less difficult to hide the truth than perilous to make it known. The councillors could not say, for nothing had as yet been settled by the Board.

CHAPTER VI.

FORECAST.

1510.

1. ADOPTING the idea that Catharine's household were to blame, Caroz tried to get such changes made as might weaken her confessor and promote the banker's wife. Toiling in the dark, he felt that he was toiling to no end. If he had heard in time about the tiff with Compton and the Duke's sister, he believed that his experience as a married man would have enabled him to soothe her highness and prevent a storm. In such affairs a celibate friar was likely to have given her bad advice. A man, he fancied, must have lived in wedlock to come between a jealous woman and her erring lord. The Queen's mishap had brought a lull, yet clouds were lowering down the skies. Catharine could not bear the sight of Compton, and she wished to have her pet recalled. Henry would neither part from Compton nor recall her pet. He showed how much her temper worried him. In all these wrangles, Caroz laid the heaviest censures on Diego; and he fancied that if Catharine took her woman, Francisca, back

into her service, the Franciscan brother might be driven from court.

2. Consulting with the banker and his wife, Caroz found them ready to support his schemes. Francisca was ambitious to regain her place; Grimaldi no less eager; for a woman near the Queen might open many a door to him. Much gold was flying to and fro; the King, who found his coffers full, was spending with a liberal hand. No little of this gold was going to Rome, where the Grimaldis kept a bank. The members of his family had been connected with the Crown in former years, and he was anxious to regain the footing they had lost. His wife, a clever woman, was attached to Catharine, who would not have driven her out, but that Diego made her do so as an act of faith. Diego was an enemy, on whom she longed to wreak a woman's vengeance. If the Queen, now ailing, were to call her back, she would take pains in future to retain her post. But Caroz failed to carry out his scheme. Catharine consulted her confessor. As Francisca had been sent adrift because he willed it, she inquired of him if she might be received again? Diego would not bend. Francisca was repulsed, and no one but the friar had rule and governance in Catharine's house.

3. A second plan was therefore tried. Since Mary was to live in Spain, Caroz and Grimaldi thought the King might be induced to place Francisca in his palace as companion to the future Queen of Spain.

Once in the palace, they could trust her for the rest. She understood her work, and might regain her former place. Even if she failed, her presence near the Queen would be of use. No secret of the closet could be kept from her. A woman, she could stay with Catharine when the friar was absent; and could speak to Catharine as an old and loyal servant of her house. But ere they tried this second scheme, Caroz asked the Spanish secretary of state to interpose. 'Francisca,' he declared to Almazan, 'is more devoted to the Queen than any other person here, and she is abler to serve the King, our lord, than any one else whom we could find. The friar is much afraid of her. He dare not let her see the Queen, or even come within the palace gates. Procure for me two letters in her favour from his highness, one addressed to the King, another to the Queen. What I propose to do with them is, first, to try and get the Queen to take her back; and, if I fail with her, to ask the King to place her with the Princess of Castille.'

4. A week elapsed ere Catharine found the strength to tell her father what had happened about her child. The courier waited at the envoy's door, and Caroz ciphered and prepared despatches which he begged the secretary of state to hide from every living soul. Catharine began her tale in words as doleful and forecasting as the text so often quoted to her detriment from Holy Writ. 'I am persuaded that your highness wishes to hear from me. Some days ago I was delivered of a daughter, and my

child was dead. That my infant was still-born, was considered in this country a great calamity; and I have had no heart to either tell you the tale myself or suffer any one else to tell you. Pray, your highness, do not storm against me! It is not my fault; it is the will of God.' With serpentine deceit, she said the King was cheerful in his trials; and next to God, she thanked her father for having given her so good a husband as her lord.

5. Two other subjects weighed on Catharine's pen. One was the head-dress vowed to Pedro the Inquisitor, which Pedro her chaplain had so impudently stolen. Threatened with proceedings in the courts, this rascal had gone before a notary, and made a declaration that her top-knot was the property of his niece. Without a public process nothing could be done to punish him; and Catharine dared not face a trial and disclose the facts. But Pedro the chaplain's brother lived in Spain, and might be reached by secret means. That man was not the thief; but he was brother to the fellow who had robbed her. She implored the King, her father, not to let his family escape. To steal an offering from a saint was bad enough, but to assert that her best head-dress was his niece's property was more than flesh and blood could stand. A second subject on her mind was the position of Diego in her household. She was but too well aware how much his presence scandalised her countrymen. Each envoy in his turn had sent unseemly messages to Spain about him.

Yet the Queen was fixed in her resolve to keep him by her side, to cover him with her protection, and adorn him with such honours as she might procure. Diego spoke of going to his obscure and narrow cell; but Catharine would have liked to see him made a prior, a bishop, and a cardinal. 'Let my confessor be remembered,' she exclaimed. Diego was her friend as well as pastor, and a favour laid on him would be received by her as something better than a compliment to herself.

6. Nothing was settled by the Board. 'You must consider and decide on something,' Caroz said to Catharine's partizans. 'The world has long been waiting to salute a prince; you will not find a way to hush this matter up.' Her friends were puzzled what to do. The difference of opinion in the Council lay much deeper than the question of concealment; and Caroz heard to his dismay that many of the councillors made no secret of their opinion, that Henry had done wrong in marrying with his brother's wife. 'I have become aware, he wrote to Almazan, 'that several of the privy councillors, with others who are near his highness, murmur at the Queen, my lady, and assert that she will never have a son.'

7. Badoer having the best means of hearing what was said, and the most perfect liberty in reporting what he heard, put these forecasts into plainer words. 'The Queen,' he wrote, 'has had a miscarriage, to the great alarm of every one.' In consequence of that event her position in the country had become

so weak, that she was threatened in her dearest rights. 'The people here,' he said, 'are entering into other combinations for the King.' Within two years of Catharine's marriage, and before the English people learnt how much her father was betraying them, that shrewd Venetian envoy heard enough to predicate the rising of domestic storms.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE PAPACY.

1510.

1. FERNANDO'S articles were signed, at no more cost to him than pledges, which he need not keep, of helping two old men to scarlet caps. The time had not yet come for him to rend the league and march into Navarre; but he was arming for the fight in front, as well as closing up his rear and flank. Eight thousand men were gathering into camps, in readiness for a dash into the Pyrenees; but Louis had not yet sufficiently reduced his strength. Julius was ready to oppose the patron of a Great Reform; but while the Emperor marched in line with him, Fernando had no mind to draw his sword. One enemy was enough. Till Max could be detached from Louis, Spain must keep her station in the league. This task was somewhat hard; for Max was calling out for help; which, by his contract with the league, Fernando was obliged to send. How could he send that aid to Max without offending Venice and the English friends of Venice? He was full of wiles. The King and Emperor were

bound to help each other, but were free to send their aid in either men or money. Max requested money. Men were mouths, which he would have to feed. Max already had more men afield than he could pay; and men being great embarrassments to the penniless prince, Fernando sent him a supply of men!

2. Of neither Pope nor Cæsar had the Catholic King a high opinion. He described these potentates as a couple of fools and dupes; but they were necessary partners in his league. A pope was seldom meek, and Julius had the pride of Lucifer. 'Your interest,' said the Spanish envoy at the Vatican, 'is to join hands with the Emperor.' Julius replied that Cæsar was behaving ill. 'All that is true,' sneered Vich, 'yet it is wise to overlook his faults.' Vich bade the Pontiff look at France. The French were pouring through the Alps, and pushing on their troops to Rome. Once masters of the capital, they would announce their Great Reform, depose his Holiness, convene a General Council, and elect a pontiff of their own. Vich had their programme at his finger's end. If Julius stayed in Rome, they were to seize his person, charge him with some heinous crime, and have him formally condemned to death. If he retired from Rome, they were to treat his flight as evidence of guilt; when Amboise, acting as lieutenant of the Sacred College, was to summon the remaining cardinals to Rome, and cause his Holiness to be deposed. Master of the city,

Louis would invite the college to elect another pontiff, and the members of that body, either cowed by violence or corrupted by money, would select the cardinal proposed by France. Amboise would be that cardinal. But Julius, though his fears were roused, was still in angry mood against the Emperor. 'Cæsar is doing wrong, no doubt,' said Vich; 'but is it wise to pay him in his own bad coin? That policy will drive him more and more into the arms of France.' Amboise had means of working on the Austrian prince. Max wanted money, territory, and a coronation; to all of which Amboise could help him, if he chose to pay the cardinal's price. 'The Emperor,' said Fernando, 'is that Cardinal's dupe.'

3. No choice was left for Julius save to lean on Spain and England in his efforts to resist the Great Reform. Of Spain he felt much doubt; for Carvajal, her resident cardinal, had lately shown a disposition to desert him for the French. He turned towards England. London and Rome had now a common enemy in Amboise, whose successes threatened Catharine in her marriage and Julius in his pontificate. A golden rose—in fact, a golden tree, with stem, branch, leaf and flower of gold; planted in a vase, filled with dust of gold by way of soil; a type of some high mystery in the Passion—was prepared by Julius and despatched to Henry, as the Pontiff's favourite son. The King received this rose with joyful heart, as bringing blessings to himself and to his house, and thanked the Pontiff for his

present in a way to render him a personal friend. Francesco Alidosio, Cardinal of Pavia, held the office of Protector of England at the Roman court; but Alidosio had become, in consequence of his intrigues with Amboise, an object of distrust to Julius. Henry took away his post, and gave that lucrative appointment to Galeotto della Rovere, the Pontiff's nephew, Cardinal of St. Peter-in-chains.

4. A rumour one day spread through Rome that Henry was deceiving Italy. Louis, this rumour ran, had made his terms; the French and English were in league; the Pope and Signory must look for an attack. Bainbridge assured the Pontiff there was nothing in these rumours, but the Pope could not be comforted with words. 'You are a set of scoundrels—all of you!' his Holiness exclaimed, on which the English prelate leapt to horse, and spent that day in hunting, so as not to see the Pope again. 'We need to take more care in future,' Julius sighed to the Venetian agent: 'you had better do the same.' Some members of his household begged him to retire from Rome. Two galleys, lying in the harbour of Ancona, were prepared for sea. The gossips of the Corso and the Pincian gardens whispered to each other that the Pope had but twelve weeks to reign; for if the French came on to Rome, the Pope must either fly or fall into their hands. The Cardinals of Auch and Bayeux, friends of Amboise, called on Julius for a public order that the reported league of France and England should be

hailed with mass and bonfire. Julius answered them in anger, 'Rome is free to you; you can have masses said and bonfires lit; but for ourselves, we have no thanks to give. Had a league been made against the Infidels, we might have joined in your rejoicings; as it is, we shall neither say one mass, nor fire one faggot.' Stung by what appeared to him a great defection, Julius turned towards Vich. What could the Pontiff do? If France and England were in league, supported by the Emperor and the German princes, each and all proposing to effect a Great Reform, the day of agony for the Papacy was nigh. Suppose he turned to Spain? On what condition would Fernando treat? Vich answered—Naples! Long and difficult questions had to be discussed before the pontiff would resign that papal fief. Fernando asked for Naples, with a tribute to be fixed by Spain. He also asked the Pope to cancel by a secret breve those articles which gave the provinces of Apulia and Campania back to France. In his despair of doing better, Julius bowed to Spain. Fernando, in return for his concessions, undertook to lend the Pope three hundred men-at-arms.

5. As soon as Julius yielded, Spain was ready for her march into Navarre, and Caroz was instructed by his master to abuse the French. Appeals were to be made to every passion in the King—his love, his pride, his bigotry, his avarice; and if these ordinary methods failed, the Queen was to be used. Caroz was to hint that the French were threatening

every state in Europe, England even more than Italy and Spain. Should Henry rise in choler, and declare that he would fight them, Caroz was to say no more, except to praise his valour and incite him to maintain his word. Should he stand off, the envoy was to press him more and more, asserting that his kingdom was in deadly peril, and that nothing save a general league would prove a barrier to the arms of Louis. To the Queen he was to use still plainer speech. No question ever had arisen so grave for Spain. She must regard it as her own affair, no less than that of all her house, to whom the coming war was like the bursting of a planet. Should the Queen refuse to meddle, Caroz was to go once more to her confessor, as the only man who could control her, and engage his services at any price. 'Make use of any means for driving Henry into war with France.' But neither Henry nor his council warmed to this appeal. The King was thinking of the Turk, and not the Frank. In fighting for the Holy Sepulchre, he needed France even more than Venice. To propose a crusade in which the French should have no part, was to propose a vain and senseless thing. When Henry drew his sword, he hoped to draw it in the cause of Christ.

6. Much stress had therefore to be laid by Caroz on the crimes of France against the Church. The French were clamouring for a Great Reform. Amboise was giving the reformers his support, and Louis made no secret of his wish to have a General Coun-

cil, to depose the Pontiff and to purify the Church. If they should carry out these schemes, would not the Kings of Spain and England have to arm? No doubt a Council, properly convened, might purify the Church and court of Rome; but Louis, said the envoy, was not labouring for the good of souls. A selfish and ambitious prince, he was preparing to annex the spiritual to the temporal power. Could Henry, as a favourite child of Rome, allow the holy Father to be wronged, degraded, and deposed? Some changes might be needed in the court of Rome, but not a change brought in by force and contrary to law. Would a recipient of the golden rose permit the Vicar of Christ to be destoyed?

7. Such arguments might have wrought on Henry had not Amboise passed away even while the ambassador was conjuring with his name. When no immediate peril stared him in the face, Henry was a friend of liberal study, and a great admirer of philosophers. Erasmus had been lately called to Cambridge, introduced to Warham, and received by Boleyn, Montjoy, and More. Henry was aware that this great scholar was, as Luther called him afterwards, 'the light and hope' of those who were seeking to emancipate the human spirit. Erasmus was conducting a greater revolution than that proposed by Amboise. He was teaching men to use their reason in the handling of sacred things. No other method of reform was likely to produce such vast results. Amboise was battering at an outer

wall, Erasmus sapping underneath the keep. Yet Henry, while he helped to cheer the critic, might have shrunk from the more vulgar and more visible action of the Cardinal.

8. By the death of Amboise many things were changed. In Amboise, Catharine lost the foremost challenger of her married state. In Amboise, Julius lost the chief of an opposing party in the Church. In Amboise, Louis lost a minister at home in law, religion, policy, and war. To France, and to the nations which depend on France, the death of Amboise was a great catastrophe. Her victories in the field had opened to her doctors and philosophers a way to Rome. These doctors and philosophers were not only learned, logical, and liberal, far above the stage of such accomplishments elsewhere, but from their wit and liveliness they had a power of teaching and refining, nowhere to be found outside the universities of France. A Great Reform appeared to be her natural work. She held the Papacy in her grasp, and might have stamped her image on the future Church. But with the death of Amboise, her directing genius seemed to vanish, and she lost for ever her direction of the Great Reform.

CHAPTER VIII.

MASTER ALMONER.

1511.

1. In trying to hold his ground against Diego's enmity in the closet, and Surrey's opposition in the council, Fox was driven to seek for help outside. The arm he wanted was beside him, in Thomas Wolsey, almoner; a man of brain enough to cope with friars and statesmen, cardinals and kings.

2. Poor, eloquent, ambitious, with a sense of untried powers, and a desire for labour and enjoyment that possessed him like a passion, Wolsey was panting for a wider field than that of a royal almoner. His rise was hampered by the meanness of his birth. A son of Robin Wolsey, trader in the town of Ipswich, he was more obnoxious to the gentlemen at court than even Fox, who, from being born in a manor-house, was supposed to have come of good, although decayed parentage. They called the almoner a churl, a butcher's dog, and other names. Yet Wolsey had already gained a footing on the rungs by which men climb. At fifteen, he had been

a bachelor of arts; at twenty, he had been a parish priest; and yet, at thirty-nine, though he had proved his great capacities, and done the state some service as an envoy, he had not been called into the council-room, nor had he risen in the Church beyond the rank of dean.

3. A poor scholar, with the world before him, Wolsey went into the Church as into a profession; not because he liked the duties of a priest, or cared about the studies of a mere divine; but as the only portal for a youth of vast designs and limited means. To rise in life, he had to find a patron, and at college he had found one in Dorset, whom he followed till the death of that great peer deprived him of his earliest prop. On Dorset's death, he had attached himself to that Nanfan who had been in Spain with Savage. Nanfan held the post of treasurer at Calais, and his chaplain soon relieved him of all labour in connexion with that place. Wolsey's delight in work was wonderful. No drudgery fatigued him; nothing seemed below his notice. He could write more letters, ride more leagues, and settle more amounts, than any three of Nanfan's clerks. He made a study of the March of Calais and the frontier lines of France and Flanders, which was afterwards of the highest use. Nanfan introduced his chaplain to Fox, who made him known to Henry the Seventh, as one of those rare men who are not only bright of speech, but strong of hand and swift of foot.

4. Even with the foundations of his fortune laid

in the preceding reign, the low-born almoner might still have died a simple dean, if Fox had not required his help in fighting Surrey. Wolsey took his patron's view. He was a man of peace. To him the Signory were a board of merchants, who had given offence in Rome, and lay beneath a papal interdict. Wolsey had no passions to disturb the clearness of his vision. Unlike Warham, he was not a friend to learning; unlike Torquemada, he was not a foe to learning. He was simply neutral in the strife. If learned men could help him, he was friendly to those learned men. If founding colleges and endowing chairs would carry him to the Vatican, he was prepared to found those colleges and endow those chairs. Once in his life, he played the patron to Erasmus; but he played the part so badly as to make an enemy of that eminent man. Wolsey was neither French nor Spanish, neither Roman nor Venetian. He was nothing but a priest who wanted to be bishop, cardinal, and pope.

5. The smooth and selfish almoner was soon in favour with the prince, if only as a comrade of his lighter hours. Passing from grave to gay, he wore at times as loose a tongue, and lived as free a life, as any of the youngsters in the ante-room. Compared with Master Almoner, Compton seemed dull and Marney rude. The almoner had Aquinas at his finger's end, and since the King professed to be a Thomist, Wolsey was a Thomist too. If Henry wearied of dialectics, his almoner could entertain

him with the merry tales' of Italy and France. Fox hardly knew as yet what sort of person he was taking for his master. Wolsey had much in common with this minister: low birth, penurious fortune, taste in books and art, the training of a scholar, and the instinct of a public man. But he had faults and merits which his patron never reached. With genius for the highest kind of labour, Wolsey had those baser qualities which in a despot's court so often bring that genius into play. Fox was a man sedate and cold, of whose exact and scrupulous words the King grew tired, while Wolsey had the wit and airiness which kindle mirth, especially when the jester is a priest.

6. At nineteen, boys delight in prank and fun, and Wolsey, in his gown and band, beat all the motleys with their caps and bells. The almoner sang a joyous stave; the almoner told a rattling tale; the almoner made no faces at a dance; nor, when the King was light of mood, had he a word to say against dice and drink. Henry was not so strict of life as at an earlier time, and pages were already basking in a favourite's eyes. It was no secret that the almoner was a man of pleasure, with an amour on his hands. One Mistress Winter was the object of his sighs, and in her house an urchin bore the name of Tom. Wolsey took care to make his chambers pleasant to the King, who gave him in return for jovial nights and days the parsonage of St. Bride. A property of the Abbot of Westminster, this parsonage had

been let on lease to Empson, and on Empson being committed to the Tower, had fallen to the Crown. An orchard and some gardens lay between the river and the house. If Wolsey had these gardens, Henry might come to him by water and avoid the crowded streets. A word from Wolsey to his master, and the thing was done.

7. This singular priest acquired so vast an influence over Henry, that the monks who envied him for his success, and the scholars who hated him for his method, equally ascribed his rise to sorcery. Wadding believed that he worked by the power of Satan. Tyndale said the King was enchanted by magical arts, so that he 'doted on Wolsey more than on a woman.' Foreign critics were no less struck by the character than by the duration of Wolsey's power.

CHAPTER IX.

A PRINCE.

1511.

1. FORTUNE was favouring Catharine in a way to strengthen the appeals of Caroz; for, on Tuesday, New Year's morning, in the second hour of day, a son was born to her at Richmond Palace, and was hailed with universal joy as Henry, Prince of Wales.

2. The day was holiday, and folks were out-of-doors enjoying the delights of Christmas. Soon the tidings spread, and many a log was added to the Richmond fires. Swift riders bore the news to London, where the people crowded through the streets, exclaiming that a prince was born, and, dropping into churches here and there, returned their thanks for that high blessing to Almighty God. A prince was born; a symbol and a pledge of peace! The city ran as wild with happiness as the court. A stone seemed rolled away; a yoke seemed lifted from all necks. The Queen's reproach was gone, and those who had been whispering evil had to hide their heads in shame. The steeples rang out merry peals, the taverns dressed their signs with

flags. Rich citizens lighted bonfires in the streets, and no man was so poor as to begrudge a candle in his porch. That day was to be marked in records as the birthday of a line of kings, whose titles, having all their roots in Edward the Third, gave full security against dynastic wars. Priors and acolytes came out, and marching in groups with pyx and cross, sang matins through the joyous crowd: 'A prince is born this day! a prince has come into the world! Peace on earth, good-will to men!'

3. On Sunday morning, January the fifth, some members of the royal house, together with the lords, both temporal and spiritual, were called to Richmond palace for the christening. In the details of this ceremony, Wolsey's genius and ascendancy were traced. Wolsey had made his parsonage in Fleet Street pleasant to a king who loved to take his ease and meet all classes of his subjects. At the parsonage Henry was never bothered with affairs of state. Young men of his own age were met in Wolsey's room. If his affairs pursued him, Wolsey offered to arrange them. If his ministers begged him to appear in council, Wolsey was ready to attend instead. With fairest shows and softest words he led the King to see that, with a man of trust like Wolsey at his side, he need not waste his youth in poring over bills and grants, in spelling difficult ciphers, and in checking the intrigues of abigails and spies. Such drudgery was fitter for a wifeless priest than for a newly-married prince. The almoner tickled him with tales about

his royal rights, which were not limited, he said, by laws and rules—the sovereign being an absolute monarch born. Still less, he hinted, was the King a slave of Parliaments, which were, in fact, no other than the creatures of his will. These notions, though unpopular in the city, had a charm for Henry, who was no less jealous of his own authority than of the Pontiff's; and the priest, who held them, being an orator and a boon companion, with the pleasantest rooms in London, seemed the man to help him in affairs of state. To the delight of Fox, he summoned Wolsey to his council. Fox had seen in Wolsey nothing but a check on Surrey's pride; but from the moment when the almoner took his seat, both he and other councillors felt the presence of their chief. A ready wit and pompous use of language gave him an advantage over peers like Shrewsbury and Herbert, who could hardly write their mother tongue. He had a mastery of the ins and outs of policy beyond the reach of Fox and Ruthal to attain; but, more than all, he had the open eye, the rapid brain, the ready hand, which sees, resolves, and executes at once.

4. The sponsors chosen for the prince were such as seemed to reconcile all parties in the blessing of his birth. Warham was called from his retirement; Surrey was summoned from his country-seat. Neither Warham nor Surrey was a favourite with the Queen, nor would her party have selected them as sponsors for her son. Catharine saw in

Warham nothing but a foe. His rank, his learning, seemed to her additional reasons why she should regard him with distrust. The man had power to do her harm, and he might some day raise his voice. Fox hated Surrey, and, as far as Ruthal dared to have a feeling, he agreed with Fox. But now a craftier priest than Fox, a faster-working clerk than Ruthal, ruled the King. In Warham's presence at the font, his protests would be cancelled, not by words which men might hardly hear, but by an act which every one must see. The Church, in her chief officer, would seem to sanctify the King's marriage, and attest the legitimacy of his infant prince.

5. The King's aunt, Catharine of York, was chosen for the infant's godmother. Catharine of York, sixth daughter of Edward the Fourth, had been contracted in her cradle to Don Juan of Aragon, and, on the failure of that treaty, had been promised to the Scottish prince; but she had barely reached her seventeenth year when she had given her heart to William Courtney, eldest son of Edward, seventeenth Earl of Devon. Courtney, in addition to a pedigree longer than that of a Plantagenet, was the handsomest man and bravest jouster of his age. 'Brandon has jousted well, Carr better, Courtney best,' said Queen Margaret, on a memorable trial of their skill. Catharine of York had been a favourite of the Queen, her sister, who had made her an allowance from her private purse, and put her children out to nurse at Cockerells, a moated mansion near

her own delicious seat of Havering. State and family occasions, such as Arthur's wedding and Margaret's espousal, had always found this royal lady in the front; but when the Queen, her sister, died, a fearful storm had broken on her house. Her husband, Courtney, who had been arrested on suspicion of conspiring with her cousin, Edmund de la Pole, was ruined by attainder. All his honours were recalled. The child at Cockerells was penniless, and the peer who had presumed to marry a Plantagenet was cast into the Tower.

6. After laying a pall on her sister's tomb, Catharine of York had dropped in penury and misery from the public sight. But royal ladies cannot hide their faces so completely as to baffle party search. Catharine was not only a member of the House of York, but was the only daughter of Edward the Fourth, except the Queen, her sister, who had a son to carry on her claims. Lord Henry Courtney, afterwards so famous for his fortunes and misfortunes, was the first cousin and next male heir to Henry of Greenwich, and on failure of the Tudor line would be the legal heir. On coming to the throne Henry had wisely called his aunt to take that place at court which she had occupied in his mother's days.

7. All wounds were to be healed now Wolsey was a councillor, and Catharine was rejoicing in her infant son. Not only was the King's aunt recalled to court, but steps were taken to reverse her husband's sentence. Edward, the seventeenth Earl,

was dead; but Henry Courtney, on account of his attainder, had not come into the honours of his father's house. The King, having now no cause to fear a rival, was preparing to restore his cousin's titles, offices, and lands. Henry felt sure that his reproach was rolled away, and that his throne would be supported by a troop of royal dukes. On Twelfth night, while the Queen still kept her room, a pageant was prepared in the great hall at Richmond palace, where a hill of roses and pomegranates opened at the side, and a lady, dressed in cloth of gold, slipt out, followed by a band of children, who performed a merry dance. Already he regarded that enchanted hill, on which the roses and pomegranates bloomed together, as a symbol of his house.

CHAPTER X.

ANOTHER DEATH.

1511.

1. WHILE Catharine kept her room at Richmond, Henry rode out with knights and squires on pilgrimage to the altar of Our Lady of Walsingham. Our Lady had a fame beyond Don Pedro the Inquisitor. In truth, excepting the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury, no altar stood so high in popular favour as that of Our Lady of the Grey Friars in Walsingham. It was a shrine of kings. Henry the Third, Henry the Sixth, and Henry the Seventh, had knelt before it. Edward the First, Edward the Second, and Edward the Third, had laden it with gifts. Bruce, King of Scots, had made a pilgrimage to the shrine. Strangers from many countries came to see it, and Erasmus spoke of the image as ablaze with gold and precious stones. But more than all, Our Lady of the Grey Friars was the Virgin Mother, in whose tenderness to the young a parent put his trust. The pilgrim halted at Barsham, where he alighted from his horse, took off his boots and hose, and walked bare-footed into Walsingham, where

he threw himself before the Virgin Mother, and besought her powerful patronage of his child.

2. Catharine had not more cause for joy than Julius when the news sped out that Amboise was no more. The galleys at Ancona were replaced in dock. The Cardinals of Auch and Bayeux were arrested. Bayeux was made to swear, on pain of forfeiting his hat, that he would never separate in future from the Roman Court. Auch, refusing such a promise, was committed to St. Angelo. A papal censure smote the French, a German army marched into the occupied provinces, and a Roman fleet appeared off Genoa. Rovere approached Ferrara. Modena was entered by the Cardinal of Pavia. A band of Switzers rattled down the Alps. Malvezzi, a Venetian captain, pushed his out-posts from Vicenza to Verona; teasing the French in front, while Rovere and the Switzers were to dash into their flanks. But Louis, treating such movements as an insult rather than a menace, easily held his own. The fleet was beaten back from Genoa. Rovere failed in his attack. The Switzers soon re-crossed their Alps. Excepting Ulrich von Hutton, who pelted the French with sarcasms, the Germans were inactive. Louis convened a council of his bishops at Tours, where he denounced the Pope, as one who had been chosen Pontiff through intrigues disgraceful to the Church; and one who, since his rise, had troubled every state in Christendom by his lust of war. The prelates took their sovereign's part. They urged the King

to pay no heed to papal censures, but repel the papal troops, convene a General Council, and indict the Pope for conduct unbecoming his position in the Church.

3. Julius replied to Louis and his council, by riding to Bologna and assuming the direction of affairs. His presence was a great and unexpected check for France. A pope, although in armour, was a pope. No Catholic liked to raise his lance against the vicar of Christ. No captain liked to fight against a foe who turned his stroke with both a spiritual and a carnal sword. A cardinal, surrounded by his priests, might laugh at papal censures, but a general at the head of ignorant peasants was obliged to take these censures into his account. The Cardinals of Narbonne and Santa Croce, writing to the English court, and hoping to engage the English council in their Great Reform, believed the Pontiff might be taken prisoner and deposed by Catholic troops and Catholic votes. Chaumont hurried up his troops; but Chaumont was infected by the fears which cowed his men; and by the time he reached Crespolano, ten miles from Bologna, his courage died away. A halt was called, while messengers rode forward to consult the Pope. Though closely pressed, the Pontiff stood his ground. Fernando had not sent his men-at-arms, nor could he get the populace, who cheered his sentiments, to go out and fight; but a Venetian corps was thrown into the town; and Chaumont, baffled by an unseen foe,

fell back from the legation. Smitten by the curse, Chaumont lay down and died; his last despairing cry on earth being an appeal for mercy to his angry Pope.

4. While Fox and Caroz were shaping the conditions of a league, by which Henry hoped to liberate the Church, but which Fernando meant to seat him in Navarre, the court removed from Richmond palace, leaving the young prince with Bessie Poyntz, his nurse. The King and Queen desired to show themselves; and feasts and dances followed on each other's heels. A joust was given, the like of which had not been seen by living man. Selecting three good lancers, Courtney, Neville, and Knyvet, as his knights, the King put out a challenge to the world. Henry bore the name of Cœur Loyal, Courtney that of Bon Valoir, Neville that of Valiant Desire, Knyvet that of Bon Espoir. It was a merry time, and every knight was at his best. Boleyn was one of the King's witnesses, and while the feasts were on, a grant was made to him in reversion of the Keepership of Beskwood Park. At the final feast, all London was invited to the palace; "weavers and skippers, barbers and tailors, vintners and watermen; who filled one side of the great hall, and roared their welcome when the King came out and danced. Cœur Loyal and his knights had their names sewn in gold letters across their breasts, and when the dance was done, he shouted the ladies and ambassadors to come and snatch these letters from

their clothes. A scramble for the golden bars ensued, on which the weavers, tinkers, watermen, and barbers, broke their line, and rushing on the royal circle, pushed and fought among their betters, snatching at letter, cloak and cap, until the knights were beaten down and all but stript. Henry had all his clothes torn off, except his hose and doublet. Lace and feathers, gold and precious stone, were lost in the affray. Courtney and Neville fared no better than the King, who pushed and fought, and kept his temper through the riotous scene. Knyvet, a gallant sailor, pushed the rabble back, and, leaping on a platform, tried to keep them off with blows. But they were many, he was only one; and after all, Bon Espoir lost his garments like the rest. When all the knights were spoiled, the tinkers and tailors rushed on the ladies, and began to rend their robes and clutch their ornaments, on which the King called in his guard and pushed the fellows back beyond their line. Stript as he was, Cœur Loyal led the Queen into her chamber, where a banquet was prepared, and in the midst of jokes and laughter every one sat down to feast. All London was in merry mood that day, and many a horn of wine was quaffed in city taverns to the infant Prince of Wales.

5. Badoer hastened to inform the Signory that the Queen had borne a son to England; adding that the ministers of France, Spain, Rome, and Venice, were invited to the christening, and had afterwards gone to see the Queen. A council of the Signory

was called, at which the Doge was authorised to write official letters of congratulation, and to send them through the hands of Bainbridge, who was fighting in their company at the Pontiff's side. This news was warmly welcomed in the papal camp. Except Fernando, no one out of England had more cause for joy than Julius that an English prince was born. Though got from him by fraud, the bull was still his act. His hand had sealed the lie. Against such canonists as Warham and Amboise, he was bound to treat his bull as sound; but in the face of much division in the schools and tribunes, an appeal to courts of law was not to be desired. A prince was heaven's own judgment on his seal. The Doge's letters found the Pontiff at Ravenna, where the Archbishop of York was drilling troops, and Julius, in his satisfaction with the English tidings, crowned the fighting Archbishop with a Cardinal's cap.

6. The prince was hailed by every one with joy. But while these kings and cardinals were gambling on the infant's life, his nurse was watching near his cradle with an anxious eye. No one supposed the child was weak. The King and Queen had left him with Bessie Poyntz at Richmond, and their cares about him turned on his household, rather than on himself. Two days after that scramble in his honour, when the King lost cloak and jewel, Thomas Cordray was named his Serjeant-at-arms, and seven days later Henry Knight received an appointment as his Clerk of the Signet. On the following day, February 22, the prince was dead.

Book the Fifteenth.

ENGLAND BETRAYED.

CHAPTER I.

CHURCH IN DANGER.

1511–12.

1. A FUNERAL of regal pomp was ordered for the prince; but pomp could neither soothe the mother's pang, nor blind the wife to her immediate loss. A tomb was built for him in the new chapel, where so many of his kindred lay; but what to her were pall and censer, lamp and coronet, choir and sepulchre? The blow had been so sudden, that the Queen was separated from her infant in his passing hour; she being in London with the King, he being at Richmond with his nurse. Her loss had all the suddenness of a judgment. Henry, indeed, surprised the world by his demeanour; for, instead of visiting his consort with reproaches, as he might have done, he seemed kinder to the Queen than ever;

begging her to dry her tears; and since they were so young, to bear her loss with patience and to put her trust in God. But Catharine was not easily appeased. Seven years older than the King, she could not share the confidence of his youth. To her, the infant's death was more than the mere misery of a mother's loss. It was the passion of her life. Were not the prophets whispering in all places, 'If a man shall take his brother's wife, he shall not leave a child behind?' She had appealed to Heaven against these prophets, and her answer was another tomb. Some weeks elapsed ere Catharine could be comforted; but Henry seemed to face the world untouched. His Queen had borne a living son; that son had crowed and laughed seven weeks; and if his loss had come to him with something of a shock, the blow had only fallen on him as such trials fall on ordinary men.

2. Before Fernando put his crown at stake by marching on Navarre, he sought some proof that England would respond to his appeals. To-day, his daughter reigned supreme; but Henry was a jealous prince, with much to try his temper and betray his love. Fernando asked support, and noted how he answered this demand. If aid were sent, some further venture might be dared; but he was cautious in the manner of his first attempt; not yet unveiling his designs, but working, in the spirit of his treaty, on the King's desire to combat for the Cross. Would Henry help the Cross? Fernando

meant to bear the Cross in person to the shores of Africa. Would Henry aid him in this sacred war? A special embassy arrived to beg the loan of fifteen hundred archers? 'It is an honour to be asked,' cried Henry. Lords, knights, and squires contended for the glory of this raid against the Moors. A roving, martial, and religious race, our fathers were excited against the Moors by wandering friars and beggars in the guise of liberated slaves. The order of St. Francis was a Spanish order, governed by a Spanish general, and a word from Spain sufficed to set these preaching friars in motion. Soon the volunteers were raised. Darcy was appointed admiral.

3. Landing at Cadiz, in the heat of June, they hoped to find Fernando busy with his fleets; but neither ships nor soldiers were collected in that port. Fernando was at Seville. Darcy, reporting his arrival, said the English archers had come to serve the King, at his request, in fighting for the Cross. Fernando answered, through the Duke of Alva, that a nearer danger had arisen, and though he wished to fight the Infidels, he dared not leave his country while the Pontiff stood in so much need of help. His Crusade was in Italy; his nearest duty being to strengthen and uphold the Pope. 'Then let us join some other prince—the King of Portugal to wit,' exclaimed the volunteers, not yet aware how much they were abused. 'My son, the King of Portugal,' he answered, 'has no war against

the Infidels, nor is any other prince engaged in fighting with the Moors.' Some voices cried that they should go alone. 'Give them to understand,' the King rejoined, 'that we rejoice to find them fired with zeal; but, as we cannot use them, they had best go home.' The men were puzzled. 'No one can blame them,' said Fernando, moving towards Navarre; 'when peace is made, I shall recall them to the flag of Christ.' The archers hardly understood him yet. If some were willing to embark, having had their voyage, others declared they had been fooled, and never would go home till they had thrashed the Infidels. Some crossed to Africa, where they were quickly in the hottest fire; but the majority, being driven by want of pay and rations to embark, returned to England, where they sowed in every class the seeds of jealousy towards Catharine and hatred towards the Catholic King.

4. Aware of his success, but not aware how much his daughter had to pay for it, Fernando begged the King, his son-in-law, to turn his 'holy war' against the French. Henry was but too ready to oblige his wife. A treaty was proposed between the Doge, the Pontiff, and the Catholic King, for the recovery of Bologna from the French, which, six weeks afterwards, was signed in Rome. Surrey and Shrewsbury were empowered to read the articles with Caroz. Three days later, Henry announced that he had joined the Holy League; and settled,

in a separate treaty, how the strength of England should be used in order to assist the Church. Too far away to send an army to Bologna, England could only help by breaking on the enemy's flank and rear. Surrey proposed to move from Calais into Picardy, so as to threaten Paris, and compel the French to re-cross the Alps; but Caroz, following out his private orders, urged that Henry ought to operate in Guienne, a province which had formerly been the jewel of his crown. Fernando, he declared, would help him to regain that province, since it lay near Spain, and might be entered from the Spanish ports; and he contended that the seizure of Bordeaux would be of greater use to Rome than a victorious march on Paris. Wolsey, playing each set of men against the other, thought the plans of Surrey and Caroz might be combined; an allied army moving from the Bidassoa towards the Garonne, while an English army marched from Calais towards the Somme. A treaty was accordingly prepared for the invasion of Guienne. England was to send an army to San Sebastian, in a fleet of Spanish transports. Spain was to contribute guns and horsemen. English and Spanish navies were to sweep the Channel, and prevent the French from sending succours to Bordeaux. Fernando undertook to have supplies of rations, tents, and beasts of burden ready for the English troops. Guienne, when conquered by the allies, was to be annexed for ever to the English crown. The articles made no mention of Navarre!

5. Wolsey suspecting Spain, and wishing to give this crusade for his Church the grandeur of a universal movement, sought the means of treating separately and secretly with the Emperor and his daughter Marguerite. An understanding with these potentates would round his system of alliances and place his enemy in a ring of fire. Yet any mission to the Archduchess and the Emperor must be conducted with the closest secrecy, especially from the Catholic King. For such a purpose the connexions of Surrey would be safer agents to employ than those of Catharine: and among the connexions of Surrey, no men seemed to him more trusty and intelligent than Sir Edward Poynings and Sir Thomas Boleyn. Poynings was Warden of the Cinque Ports, Comptroller of the Household, Admiral of the Fleet. Boleyn was noted as a linguist, a financier, and a scholar; a man of deep religious feeling, as became a kinsman of the Saxon saint; yet not the less a man of business, as became a grandson of the City knight.

6. Boleyn was taken from a bright and happy home, which he was not to find on his return from foreign service. On his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Howard, his father had given them Hever Castle, as a bridal home, while he kept house at Blickling Park and Rochford Hall. Sir William had been dead seven years, but Lady Margaret and her father were alive. The daughter of Countess Lorie was no more, and all the passion of that Irish feud was falling on

the Boleyns. At Hever Castle Boleyn's boys and girls were born, one every year, as he expressed it, like the harvest of his fields.

7. Two girls, Anne and Mary, and three boys, Thomas, Henry, and George, were given to them. The females lived; but only one of the three boys grew up to man's estate. Thomas slept beneath the stones of Penshurst Chapel. Henry was interred in the family vault of Hever church. Anne was born in 1501, about the time when Catharine was leaving Spain. She was already in her eleventh year; a creature small in size, and pale in hue, but with a wondrous light in her dark pair of Celtic eyes. Anne had received the name of her royal aunt, Anne Plantagenet, her uncle Howard's lovely and pensive wife. Thomas had been named after the Saxon saint, of whose blood he came. Mary was called after the King's sister; and Henry after the King himself. Anne, George, and Mary were alive. George was a handsome boy; a pet and darling of his house; and heir in chief to what the Boleyns, Hoos, and Butlers had to leave.

8. Such were the men selected for the delicate task of carrying out in the imperial court a policy apart from that of Catharine's father. Poynings, as the older councillor, seemed to have the lead, but Boleyn, by his manner, his address, and his command of French, soon gained the upper hand.

CHAPTER II.

THE CATHOLIC KING.

1512.

1. THOUGH Surrey signed the articles with Spain, he was not intrusted with command. So great a soldier would have guessed Fernando's purpose, and opposed it from the day of landing on his coasts. Dorset, a feeble friend of Catharine, was selected for the post; but Wolsey, while he gave the foremost place to Dorset, for a purpose of his own, was wise enough to give the second place to Howard, Surrey's eldest son, while Admiral Howard was to have the chief command at sea. Brooke, Herbert, Willoughby, and Ferrars, had commissions in this Army of Guienne. Dorset's three brothers, all devoted to the Queen, went out; so that by Wolsey's care, the council of war in Spain was just as nicely balanced in opinion as the council of peace at home.

2. Ten thousand men sailed in Spanish ships for Passage, under San Sebastian, where Fadrique, Bishop of Siguenza, welcomed them to Spain. When Dorset landed, he was staggered

by the sight. Instead of finding fleets and tents, he found a desert waste; long sweeps of mud in front, a rocky fortress on his right, and to his left a range of barren heights. Except a bishop's blessing, nothing was provided for his men; no tents, no guns, no mules, no sheds, no hospitals, no stores. The sun was hot, the season rainy; yet the troops were left to sleep in open fields and by the water-side. Dorset reported to Fernando, who replied that he would quickly join him with the stipulated horse and cannon. Howard and Brooke suspected treachery. Numbers of their men fell sick. The soldiers clamoured to be led afield, and Howard, sharing their disgust, entreated Dorset to advance. But Dorset wished to please the Queen's father; and Fernando begged him not to march till Alva joined him in the field. Week after week passed by; the fires of August followed on the rains of June; fever and dysentery thinned the English ranks; yet Alva never showed his face. The food was scant and coarse. More men fell sick. A grave was opened every day, and every day the English soldiers, standing by that open grave, denounced and cursed the Catholic King.

3. Fernando set a snare to catch his niece, Queen Catharine of Navarre. He had inserted in the Holy League an article binding Julius to pronounce a papal censure on any State assisting France. Could he involve Navarre in that offence? Demands were made by agents in Pamplona that

Albret and his wife should join the League. Albret refused. Expecting this reply, the Catholic King had given his agents in Rome instructions to demand a papal censure, but the pontiff, though disposed to help his ally, could not bring himself to curse the Navarrese for simply wishing to remain at peace. A bull was issued by the Pope, exhorting them to remain faithful subjects to their King and Queen. Fernando got a transcript of this bull, which he printed with important changes in the text. A 'not' being inserted in the leading sentence, copies of this spurious bull were sent to every church and convent in Navarre. The clergy were misled into supposing that the Pope had laid their country under ban and curse, and that Fernando had been armed as their deliverer by the Vicar of Christ.

4. To give his crime an air of working out the will of Rome, Fernando called on Dorset to divide with him the odium of advancing under such a pretext on a friendly kingdom. Dorset called his council, and his council glanced at their commission. They had come to fight the French. No word in their instructions justified them in disturbing the condition of Navarre. Even Dorset was annoyed. 'Let us begin our movement towards the Adour,' he entreated. 'Not so fast,' replied Fernando; 'you cannot prudently push forward while an enemy is posted in your rear.' Longueville, the young French prince commanding in the south, was at Bordeaux, and what the English wanted was to meet that sol-

dier in a clash of swords. A Spanish force came near the English lines, and tried to hem them in. Dorset lay still ; but some of his companies, restive in their quarters, streamed across the Bidassoa into France, and having felt their foe brought on a rapid fight. Dorset came over with the main array, and standing man to man, they beat the French beyond their lines; but having neither guns nor cavalry for field work, Dorset drew his men aside till Alva should be ready to advance. No Alva came, for Alva was employed in capturing cities in Navarre. The forgery was working miracles ; for when the patriots had been crushed by fire and sword, the priests and monks came out with pyx and cross, and welcomed Alva to their country in the name of holy Church. The English forces under Dorset lay between the French and Spaniards, while the troops of Alva occupied Navarre.

5. Such were the services that Catharine was to render Spain ! Captains and men were on the verge of mutiny. Unable, through the failure of their ally, to advance; invited by that ally to become his partner in an act of shame; both officers and men began to talk of going home. Howard declared, in his coarse fashion, that the Catholic King was utterly unworthy of their trust. He filled a note to Wolsey, which he meant for Henry's eye, with the contempt and hatred felt by everybody in the English camp. He wished the King had never trusted Spain. No one would ever trust Fernando more. In truth,

his conduct was so vile, that had he not been the Queen's father, Howard would have called him to account. Stile and Knight, the furious soldier said, were going to the King with a proposal to attack the French alone; yet even if he gave them leave to act, as he had sent them neither horses nor provisions, how could they advance? Brooke, Ferrars, Willoughby, and other captains, were, he said, of his opinion; and he wished his letters to be shown to Warham, Fox, and others, whom the almoner desired to know how matters stood. But more than all, he begged that Wolsey would preserve his words as evidence against the Catholic King.

6. Stile, though a timid man, was also stung into rebuke. 'Yea, we are ready, but the King, your father, has not yet assembled his contingent,' was the burthen of his tale. 'His words are fair, his deeds immeasurably slack. . . . . At my last audience with the King, I was so plain with him, that I have never seen His Majesty so impatient with me, saying, I believed him not, although he swore with many oaths that his sole drift and intent were the weal of holy Church and your enterprise in Guienne. If it be otherwise, it is hard to trust the words and oaths of a Prince who says so. It is seen and known that by his policy he attaineth many things to other men's cost.'

7. Henry was slow to judge, yet a conviction that his father-in-law was scheming for Pamplona not for Bayonne, stole into his breast. Surrey and

his wiser councillors were against the war; believing that the Austro-Spanish empire was a menace to the liberties of Europe. Henry knew that peace with France had been the pole-star of his father's reign. His marriage had disturbed the line of march, by ranging England on the side of Spain; but only, as he now began to see, for the aggrandisement of a too powerful house. A second outrage was too much for such a temper to endure, and Henry let his courtiers understand that he intended to recall his fleets and armies out of Spain.

8. A council was convened at San Sebastian, and a resolution taken by the English captains, after warm debates, to quit a land in which they were tricked and fooled. Alva was master of Navarre, and Albret driven across the Pyrenees; but Albret had been led to think the occupation of his fortresses a friendly measure, which would cease when England was in full possession of Guienne. It was of moment to Fernando that the English should not go, since their departure would expose him to a summons to retire. On learning that the men refused to stay, Fernando begged that some of the captains would remain. 'I have men enough for every purpose,' he explained; 'but the presence of some English gentlemen in my camp will show that we are acting in a common cause.' No English officer would stay behind. Fernando, as a last deception, hinted that he had no transports ready to convey so large a force to England. 'Then we march through France,'

they said; on which the transports quickly came to port.

9. Catharine was afraid lest Henry, in his anger, would desist from war, and come to terms with France; but he assured the Queen that his vexation with her father had not changed his mind about the 'holy war.' 'Even though the Pontiff, and the King, your father, should desert me, which I firmly trust they will not do, I should still go on to vindicate the Church of God against these heretics in France.'

CHAPTER III.

ARCHDUCHESS MARGUERITE.

1512–13.

1. STARTING for the Netherlands, Boleyn and Poynings found the Archduchess Marguerite willing to assist her Church, yet anxious lest, in her regard for Julius, she involved the country which she governed for her nephew, Carlos, in disputes with France.

2. A Queen of song, and in a certain sense a Friend of Light, Marguerite was a pious woman, with a female's reverence for the Holy See. That sense of reverence had been outraged by the French. Gaston de Foix, Viceroy of Milan, had seized the Papal city of Bologna, on which the Pope had laid that captain and his army under censure. Laughing at priestly thunders, Gaston had pushed his forces towards Ravenna, where he broke the Spanish infantry in a decisive battle, and received his death-blow in the fight. Louis, having the four cardinals, Carvajal and Buisonet, Prie and San Severino, with him, was invoking a Council of the Church at Pisa, and inviting Max, his ally in the league, to send the German and Flemish bishops to that conclave. Marguerite not only shrank from this demand, but begged her father to abstain

from meddling in Church affairs. 'Under your high sanction, it is not our business to reform the Church; these matters are remitted to the Pope.' When Max insisted that since he had pledged his word to Louis, he ought to keep it, Marguerite answered that he might name the deputies to Pisa for them both, as she had not a penny in her purse to pay the serious cost of sending bishops into Italy.

3. On hearing he must find the ducats for these bishops, Max began to slacken in his zeal for Church reform. He had imagined he could make a little money by supporting France; and he was dubious as to the affair at Pisa, where the Spanish Cardinal, Carvajal, the darkest plotter of his day, was ruling every one. Max distrusted Carvajal. He had a project of his own for Church reform, which Carvajal was certain to oppose, and perhaps to ridicule; since it turned, in substance, on his own appointment as coadjutor to Julius, with the faculty of succeeding to the Holy Chair, and being canonised after death! The comic Cæsar actually explained these projects to his cynical daughter. 'After my death you will have no choice, my child; you will be bound to worship me.' Knowing her father's weakness, Marguerite believed the offer of a sum of money would suffice to tempt him from the camp of Louis and the French reformers; and when she found that Boleyn was empowered by his commission to offer money, she encouraged him to see the Emperor, and tell him how much money Henry was prepared to pay.

Wingfield, the resident envoy, was disgusted, and Boleyn was far from sanguine of success.

4. Marguerite took a fancy for Boleyn, as a man combining solid character with bright accomplishments. One day, she sent an officer to his house to say she wished to see him at the palace. Boleyn was soon beside her. 'Well,' she greeted him, 'the Emperor has sent for a minute of the commission.' Boleyn must have looked incredulous. 'Will you wager me a hobby on it?' cried the Archduchess merrily. 'By your Grace's leave,' said Boleyn, 'I will gladly hold that wager, and will gladly lose it.' Marguerite held her hand; he clasped it; and their bet was made. If Max consented to the treaty, Boleyn was to give her an English hobby; if the Emperor shirked the treaty, Marguerite was to give him a Spanish horse. The party laughed, and Marguerite, knowing her father, felt that she must win her bet. But Max had never yet been swift to follow good advice. He gave her vague instructions, which she could not get him to explain. Boleyn and Poynings thought her powers sufficient for the purpose, but when they had framed a treaty, Max refused the articles she had signed. He wished, he said, to join the league, but he must have more ducats for his share. Annoyed by these delays, Henry recalled his envoys from the Flemish court. But Marguerite begged them to stay a little while, and see how things would go; and with the King's assent, they waited patiently in Flanders till the Emperor made up his mind.

5. The matter needed to be handled nicely; Marguerite being an Emperor's daughter, and a woman apt to fire at an affront. Wingfield, the impatient envoy, vexed her by leaving Brussels on a pilgrimage. Boleyn tried to soothe her, saying his countryman would soon return. 'Why!' said the lady, 'he is gone to Canterbury: which we think strange, since he has not taken leave of us before his departure.' One day, after hearing mass, she took her English guests apart, and told them that although the King, their master, had sent a good deal of money, he had not yet sent enough. 'The King,' answered Poynings, 'will not move another step unless the articles are observed.' Marguerite showed her teeth. 'Englishmen,' she answered, with a biting tongue, 'have had so little of war, that they lack experience from disuse, and it is reported they are sick of it already.' Boleyn could not brook this sarcasm. 'Madam,' he replied, 'we are but in the beginning of war; in three years' time, I trust you will understand by our deeds that we are neither weary of war nor lack experience of it.'

6. At length, the Emperor's avarice was stayed, and he was ready to abandon Louis and the French assailants of the Papacy. A regular commission was despatched to Mechlin, authorizing Poynings, Yonge, Boleyn, and Wingfield to conclude a league between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of England, the King of Aragon, the Queen of Castille, Prince Charles of Austria, and the Archduchess

Marguerite of Savoy. When the articles were signed, Max sent ambassadors to Bologna, where Ulrich von Hutton heard Italian orators smother them 'in flowers of speech.' Their coming to Bologna was a sign that England and Germany were arming for defence of Holy Church.

7. Aware of Boleyn's talent for affairs, Henry showed a sense of his great services by granting him the reversion of three manors in Essex, one manor in Herts, and a survivorship in a fifth manor in Norfolk. But these marks of royal favour failed to turn the great disturber from his gates. Lady Elizabeth fell sick. Her father carried her to Howard House, in Lambeth; but her ailment was beyond the reach of medical art. At Howard House, on the fourteenth day of December, 1512, and while her husband was abroad, the young and lovely mother of Anne Boleyn died; leaving her three little ones, the eldest not eleven years old, to the care of a great-grandfather, a grandfather, a grandmother, a step-grandmother, and a tribe of aunts. What could be done for Lady Elizabeth by wealth and pomp was done. A tomb was made for her in the Howard Chapel in St. Mary's Church, and there beside the river brink, she slept among the ashes of her proud and powerful race. But who was to console these orphan children for their father's absence and their mother's death?

CHAPTER V.

CATHARINE REGENT.

1513.

1. DORSET resigned the chief command in Spain to Howard, who conducted his unruly soldiers to an English port. Three Spanish agents came to London, with instructions to excite the King against his captains, and accuse his troops of mutiny. If Henry would disgrace his men, and tell the world they were to blame, these Spanish agents were to pledge their honour that Fernando would advance into Guienne. Henry was fierce; but Catharine whispered in his ear that he would soon salute his heir. This whisper tamed him. Wolsey, having learnt her secret, followed in the policy of her hopes. Should Catharine have a son, Fernando would even yet be able to dispose of England as he liked. But how could they degrade so large a force? The pikemen who had been abused at Passage were supported in their clamours by the archers who had been deceived at Cadiz. Thousands of voices were proclaiming in the streets that Catharine's father had inveigled and betrayed their prince.

2. The friends of Wolsey urged him to hush the matter up, and Wolsey acted on their sound advice, although he kept a civil front towards Spain. A council was convened at Westminster, to which the Duke of Buckingham, the Spanish envoy, and some other friends of Catharine, were invited. Dorset was excused, and Howard was not called. Herbert and Willoughby were examined on their knees; and the ambassadors, not understanding a word of what was spoken, were informed that these great officers were being severely blamed. Herbert and Willoughby answered boldly: 'We have followed our instructions out; the King of Aragon deceived us all; his only purpose being to occupy Navarre.'

3. Had Catharine been more fortunate, her husband might have tried to do still more; but she had suffered a miscarriage of her hopes. The value of his troops to Spain was evident to the King. As soon as they were gone, the French, under Longueville, Pole, and other captains, swarmed across the frontiers, drove the Spaniards to their forts, and occupied the lands on which the English armies had encamped. Alva was unable to resist the French, who captured Irun, Santa Maria, and Oyarzun on one side, with the passes of Maya and Roncesvalles on the other side. French flags were seen before the walls of San Sebastian and Pamplona; and nothing but the coming on of winter in the mountain regions saved those cities from renewed assaults. Henry had to judge his army in the light of all these facts, and

though the Spanish envoys declared themselves content, nothing came of their accusation save a deeper feeling that, in all these Spanish matters, from the unblessed marriage of the King down to this outrage on Navarre, Henry had been cozened and betrayed by Catharine's kin.

4. A powerful party was against the war with France, as contrary to the policy of a Tudor prince. But Catharine, urged from Spain to do her best in drawing Pole and Longueville to the north, excited Henry to acquire a martial name. Surrey was against her; yet the Queen prevailed. Wolsey had gone over to the side of Spain; and with the almoner's support, Catharine was sure to gain her point. Boleyn, strengthened in his opinion by experience of the Emperor, urged his master not to go in person; but Catharine bore him down as she was bearing everybody down. 'The King is bent on war,' wrote a Venetian then in London; 'the council is averse to it; the Queen will have it; and the wisest councillors in England cannot stand against the Queen.' France was to be dismembered by the League. Julius was to have Provence, Dauphiné, and any other districts he might seize. Henry was to conquer Normandie and Aquitaine; Fernando to appropriate Bearn and Languedoc; Marguerite to regain Bourgogne; and Max to have the trans-Alpine provinces of France. Louis and his prelates were to be subdued, if not destroyed, for their attacks on holy Church.

5. One ally, and one ally only, still remained to France. The King of Scots, though married to an English princess, and the father of a boy, Prince James, who was the next male heir of Henry, was so bound by ancient ties to France, that when that country called on him for help, he turned from the caresses and entreaties of his wife to follow the adventures of his ally on the Seine. As James grew older he became more vicious and more superstitious. Though fond of Margaret, he never altered his erratic course. Roving from high to low, he followed every pretty face he saw, and sometimes by his conduct put the Queen to public shame. He toyed with alchemists and sorcerers. He sought for gold-mines with the help of magic rods, and spent his nights with dicers, mountebanks, and knaves. He haunted taverns, and doffed his cap to female tramps. From these debaucheries he turned into a friar's cell, put on a penitential garb, scourged and pinched his body, and prepared to start on foot, not only to St. Ninian's Well, but to the Holy Sepulchre. When he was grovelling in the earth, some Lady Isabel or Lady Janet caught his eye, and in a moment sackcloth and ashes dropt away, a feather leapt into his hat, and love regained her empire in his heart. Yet in the midst of these excesses he had kept the heart of every warlike Scot. Wise men might shake their heads, but on a call from James the clans were always swift to rise.

6. Admiral Howard had put to sea. Surrey

was to hold the Border shires, and fight the Scots, if they presumed to pass the Tweed. Shrewsbury was to lead the army into France, escorted and protected by the fleet. Henry was to follow with his court; and in his absence Catharine was appointed Regent of his realm.

7. Before the court broke up, the Queen was able to repose in Henry's ear a word to call up fire into his brain. With such a promise in his front, he could go forth and fight his best, aware that even if he fell his kingdom might be saved from civil war.

CHAPTER V.

AT WAR.

1513.

1. THE chief authority was left with Surrey, not with Catharine. She was not to meddle with either Surrey in the camp, or Warham in the church. These enemies of Spain, and of her marriage, had the church, the army, and the law courts, in their hands. She had no claim to sit in council nor instruct a single minister of the crown. Her powers were limited to issuing commissions of array, to signing *congés d'élire* to chapters of conventual churches not being bishops' sees, to granting livings under forty marks a-year, and drawing for her daily charges on the privy purse. Her regency was but a regency in name.

2. A rumour had arisen in London that her father, while engaging Henry to embark in war, was trying to secure a separate respite. That rumour, though it seemed incredible, was true. Longueville, Bayard, Pole, and other captains had been summoned from the south. Navarre was safe. Fernando's more immediate object was achieved. When

people heard a rumour that Fernando was negotiating for a separate truce, they followed Caroz through the streets. Caroz affected innocence of the affair. Not satisfied with his word, the citizens would have torn him into pieces had the King not interposed. To save his life the Council put him under charge; nor dared they set him free till he had sworn an oath that he knew nothing of a separate truce. He swore a lie, and Wolsey knew it was a lie. Henry was hoping for the best, but confidence was dying in that atmosphere of fraud. When Caroz hinted that his master, the Catholic King, wished his son-in-law to stay at home, he broke into a storm. 'Not go to France! In spite of all, I mean to cross the seas, and let those try to injure me who can!'

3. Shrewsbury led his troops across the Straits, escorted by the fleet. After landing the force at Calais, Admiral Howard chased some cruisers into Brest, and, having beaten them on St. Mark's Day—a happy augury for Venice—the gallant sailor fell in boarding the French admiral's ship. Lashing his craft alongside the French flag-ship, he sprang on board, expecting that his men would follow; but on the instant of his leap a French axe cut the cable, and the vessels parted in the fight. Cool as at a feast, he threw his whistle into the sea, and stood on his defence, disdaining either to surrender or to shout his name, and fighting till the press of numbers pushed him over the vessel's side. So fell Anne

Boleyn's uncle, bravest of the brave. England put on mourning for her hero, but the deepest mourning of the heart was worn for him by the stricken inmates of Howard House.

4. In June the King crossed over with his main array. Peers, prelates, choristers, and friars choked up his tent. Buckingham and Dorset held appointments near the royal person. Essex and Willoughby led the van; the household followed, with a train of bishops, and the banner of the Holy Trinity. Boleyn was in the van with Willoughby. Wolsey, Fox, and Ruthal, waited on the King, as well as Brandon, whom the King had recently created Viscount Lisle. Brandon had become a favourite; having won the eye of Mary, Henry's lovely sister. Henry was mounted on a horse which reared and shook his bells. Each horseman wore above his mail a shirt of green and white stuff, the Tudor badge; and every detail of the march was studied for effect, as though the pageant had been meant to gratify an artist's eye. Yet nothing was forgotten that could please the Church, of which the royal almoner was so bright an ornament. On setting out from Calais, Henry strung up three of his German troops for violating a village church. In Italy these Germans had been free to plunder sacristy and altar; but their English chief, in entering on his 'holy war,' was careful to repress such deeds. To him this warfare was a crusade; and religious services were frequent in his camp. A monk went forward with each company;

and every act, however rough and coarse, was blessed by an appointed minister of Heaven.

5. Boleyn and Wyat were in daily waiting on the King. Ammonius the classic, and Carmeliano the musician, had lodgings in his camp. Cæsar himself came in, and served the young crusader as a volunteer. Cæsar was glad to dine at anybody's cost, and take from anybody's hands his daily pay. François, first prince of the blood, came out against them. Longueville, Bayard, Brie, and Pole, were in his ranks, and Louis felt that France had rarely put so fine an army in the field. At Terouenne the rivals came to blows. In the Battle of the Spurs a panic seized the French, who fled in terror, leaving in the victor's hands a batch of captives hardly lower in rank and less in number than the prisoners won at Azincour. Longueville, Brie, and Bayard, were among these captives; Pole escaped; but his appearance in the field so galled the King that orders were despatched to London for the execution of his unhappy brother in the Tower.

6. Henry advanced his lines to Tournay, an important frontier fortress, and began the siege. Louis came down to Amiens, appealed to all his chivalry; but the leaders of French chivalry, Longueville and Bayard, were prisoners in the English camp. François made efforts to retrieve his luck, but he had no experience in the art of war; and, after a defence which saved the garrison from shame, Tournay surrendered to the English troops. To Tournay,

Charles of Austria, the affianced husband of Mary, came to see the victor. Henry begged his almoner to accept the bishopric they had won. From Tournay he repaired to Lisle, the court of Marguerite, where he challenged all the world to break a lance in honour of Catharine's brilliant sister-in-law. Marguerite, thirty-three years old, and twice a widow, was taken by the handsome face and skilful arm of Lisle. Henry, believing her in love, offered to support her if she deigned to wed his friend; but Marguerite answered, with her merry laugh, that she had been so luckless with her first and second venture that she hardly liked to try a third. Yet Henry pressed his comrade's suit. A young, romantic husband, Henry was eager to connect himself in every way with Catharine's kin. If Mary married Charles, and Brandon married Marguerite, his family and friendly ties would be complete. These marriages would be the seal of his success in France.

7. Yet, great as his success had been, the news from Scotland stirred in him a still more passionate delight. Queen Anne of France had sent the King of Scots a warm, and even an amorous note, together with a ring from her own finger, and a purse of fourteen thousand crowns. She called herself his mistress. She told him she was suffering for his sake; and begged him, if he were her faithful knight, to cross with all his force into the English shires. To James such words were fire. Obeying her re-

quest, he sent a letter of defiance to his brother-in-law, which Henry answered in a tone of wrath. The Scot let loose his clans. Passing the Border line, he captured several forts and farms, in one of which he found a pretty woman, Lady Heron, in whose presence he forgot his more poetic passion for the Queen of France. Some days were lost by him in dangling at her heels; and when he turned to seek his enemy, Surrey and the English army were in front. At Brankston Field, near Flodden, he was crushed and slain; a brave man, fighting to the end; and winning, as he prayed to win, a soldier's death. Thirteen earls lay stretched beside his corse. His natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, perished; fifteen chiefs of clans were left among the dead; six thousand commoners lay around them on that bloody field. So great a victory deserved a great reward; and Surrey won at Brankston Field the ducal coronet which his father had lost at Redland Marsh.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY DESERTED.

1513–14.

1. COVERED with victory by land and sea, and cheered by expectations of a son being born, Henry was yet both startled and disturbed by the inaction of his allies in the field. Max had come into his camp and pocketed his coin, but he had done no Kaiser's part against the French. Fernando had not sent a man across the frontiers towards Guienne. The Roman captains were inactive. Venice had made a separate peace. Henry, left to fight both French and Scots, had done so on their native soil, and with a great success, but he had borne the brunt of war almost alone. If all the leaguers had been equally alert, their armies might have been in Paris, and the objects of the league attained. Next year, in place of cutting Christian throats, in order to preserve the faith from heresy, he might have reckoned on beginning his march against the Turks. This league against schismatics was no other than a prelude to his crusade. As he said to Badoer,

his heart was fixed on going to the Holy Sepulchre, which he believed he should be able to rescue from the Sultan with an army of twenty-five thousand men; but this desertion by his allies threatened to prolong the war with France, and therefore stay his march against the Turks.

2. The Pope might be excused for his inaction, since the warlike Julius was no more, and Giovanni de Medici, a cautious and pacific priest, who loved his money and his pleasures, was installed in Rome as Leo the Tenth. The Doge might also be excused, since Max would make no peace with Venice, save on terms which no one in his place could grant. Louis had offered to arrange his quarrel with the Signory, and the Council of Ten had taken him at his word. But why had Spain done nothing to support the league? Alva showed no slackness when a selfish end was to be served. Might not the army of Navarre, descending from the Pyrenees, have occupied some fortress of Guienne? Surely the reports that Spain was plotting secretly with the French in favour of a general peace could not be true!

3. Though Catharine never guessed how deep in infamy her father was descending, she was troubled by her news from Spain. So many agents were employed in London, that she feared her husband's confidence was being abused, and she was sore afraid lest some of her father's doings should be brought to light. Wolsey had made acquaintance with her

woman, Francisca, the Italian banker's wife; who, finding Master Almoner all in all, was offering him her service, either in the Flemish or the English court. Wolsey liked such agents as this banker and his wife; rich, intelligent, and well-connected folks; and he was trying to place Francisca in a post where she could serve him. Catharine had already spoken to the almoner about this woman; desiring him to find some means of sending her back to Spain; but Wolsey had always put her off with words. Francisca had been simply sent to Flanders, where the enemies of Fernando were engaged in various plots. A curious incident had caused the Emperor to set his daughter Marguerite on her guard against the Regent of Castille. Fernando, wishing to get Juan Manuel, the statesman of the Castillian party, into his power, had purchased, with the promise of a yearly pension, four of Marguerite's servants; who had undertaken, for a thousand ducats annually paid to each, that Marguerite should shut her eyes, while he was being seized and put on board a ship in one of her Flemish ports. Fernando sent a captain, Artieta, to a Flemish harbour, with a forged certificate and minute instructions how the statesman was to be entrapped and put on board. But Manuel, having as many spies as the 'old Catalan' himself, was soon aware that agents were about to seize his person. He appealed from Marguerite to her father. Max, knowing the man's value, as an enemy of Fernando, told

his daughter to beware of her false servants. 'If Juan Manuel has been guilty of a crime, let him be fairly tried; if not, it is enough to send him from your court.'

4. At Lille, the almoner found Francisca, and essayed to put her in a place of trust. Sounding the Archduchess, he fancied she might take the banker's wife into her service, if her former mistress gave her letters of approval. Wolsey wrote to ask that favour from the Queen; but Catharine, though she feared to vex him, could not stomach this affront. She wished Francisca to be sent to Spain, and Wolsey asked her to provide the woman with a berth at Marguerite's side! 'It is not meet for her, Mr. Almoner,' said Catharine, in reply, 'she is a dangerous woman; and you will do so much for me as to make her go home, it should be to me a great pleasure, and bind me to you more than ever.' But Francisca would not go to Spain. The Netherlands were free. No Inquisition scared the sleep from people's eyes, nor could a local judge be made a tyrant's tool. Antwerp, covered by her ancient franchise, was a refuge for the exiles of all countries. She preferred to stay about the Flemish coast; and, in a little while, a place was found for her in the service of Archduchess Marie, sister of the Archduke Charles.

5. Wolsey was but too well assured of what Spain was doing both in Bearn and at the Emperor's court. Not only had a truce with France been

signed, but the intrigue had gone so far that every victory of the English fleets and armies was a sorrow to the Regent of Castille. Knight reported from Valladolid that the Spaniards were annoyed at Howard's victory, and tried to prove that England had sustained a loss in the affair near Brest. The battle of the Spurs alarmed them more and more; for their ambassadors were everywhere disparaging the English troops, as men who had forgotten how to fight. That the troops who were at Passage could meet a French army, they denied in every form of words; but after Longueville was taken, Flodden fought, and Tournay won, these Spanish allies had begun to change their note. Caroz was allowed to bend a little, and when Henry asked for a new treaty to replace the one his ally had so shamelessly evaded, both the Spanish and Imperial agents said they were prepared to gratify his wish. A second treaty was arranged; a second snare for the young King; but Henry, in his eagerness to push the war, and in his fancy that Fernando would not cheat him in the future, signed a treaty for resuming hostilities in the ensuing year.

6. Unconscious of the perfidy that was to shock his heart, and change the course of history, the King was only dreaming of his future son, when Catharine, taking to her chamber, was confined at Richmond Palace, but in so much secrecy that hardly any man in London knew of what was taking place. A prince was born to England; yet no guns were fired, no

bells gave tongue, no conduits ran with wine. Much fear had eaten into Catharine's heart. A shrewd Venetian agent ferreted out the news, and sent a grateful message to the Signory. But no announcement of the fact was made at Paul's Cross, nor were the ladies in attendance on the Queen aware of what had happened. Every door was locked, and every gallery was watched. The royal infant lived some days; a fretful mystery in the royal house; but he was gone before the King could see his face. The prince was put away by stealth, no man knew whither, like a thing deserted and accursed of God.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CROWNING PERFIDY.

1513–14.

1. ARRIVING at his desolate home, now haunted by the memory of another child, the King fell sick, of what his doctors called a form of plague. Plague was still ravaging the London streets, and Henry took his bed at Richmond, where his infant son had died. The ailment was not plague, and after his recovery his physicians called it variola. At Valladolid, his disorder was described as fever, and the chances were that he was suffering from disorder in his brain. For while the King was mourning in his desolate home, a true perception of Fernando, in his nature and his purpose, dawned on the young monarch's soul. The schemes of that great criminal, to whom the Borgias seemed like puppets, were unrolled before his eyes; and he perceived, not only why he had been forced into his wedlock with Fernando's daughter, but the sacrifice Fernando was prepared to make of him. A crowning perfidy was opening English eyes to the disgrace and danger into which Catharine's union with the King had plunged the realm.

2. All through the previous summer, while the King had been afield, Fernando had been secretly engaged in trying to make terms with Louis. Having won Navarre, which Alva held in strength, the only project lying on his hands was that of his Italian state. One half of Italy was in his grasp. If he could snatch the Milanese, with Genoa, Pavia, and the Venetian districts on the mainland, he would have little trouble in suppressing the middle states of Tuscany and Rome. The Papal territories were not sacred in his eyes, nor had he much aversion to reforms which would deprive the Pontiff of his temporal power. He hoped to leave the crown of this Italian kingdom to his favourite grandson, Don Fernando. On the other side, he still retained his hunger for the duchy of Bretagne, which he imagined might be got for Charles. Louis had two daughters, Claude and Renée, born coheiresses of that duchy in their mother's right. Fernando was prepared to break the match with Mary Tudor, if the King of France would enter into such a scheme. Would Louis give his daughter Claude to Charles? How was he to open this affair at Blois, without exciting the suspicion of his allies in the league? A plan occurred to him. Caroz, being still at feud with Diego, was anxious to have an aged friar sent out to fill Diego's post. Fernando wrote to say that such a person should be sent to England, under cover of which ghostly errand he selected a Provincial of the Order of St. Francis for his work. The friar

was feeble, and refused to go by sea. He was allowed to go whichever way he liked. He took no papers with him. What need had a mendicant friar, begging his way, like all his order, to a distant land, where a religious duty waited him, for passports and instructions? Starting for France, he wandered from the road, which led through Tours and Chartres to Paris, and was found by the police in Blois. A friar of venerable age and dignified appearance, calling himself confessor to the Queen of England, ran no personal risk even in an enemy's country. Carried to the palace, he saw Queen Anne, and held a long and secret conference with her? In a little time the terms of an agreement were arranged between that cunning friar and that illustrious consort of two Kings of France.

3. Anne could not give her daughter Claude to Charles, for Louis would not see his kingdom rent in pieces; and his elder daughter, as the heiress of Bretagne, was pledged to François, his successor on the throne. But she proposed to give Renée, her younger child, to either Don Fernando or Don Carlos. Claude was plain; but Renée was so ugly that her father, Louis, used to point his jokes against her face. 'It will be hard for us to find a husband for the chit,' he used to say. 'The love,' replied his Queen, 'that follows beauty is not likely to endure:' a precept which all parents of unlovely children quote and disbelieve. Renée was only three years old, and who could say how she might look at twenty-one?

Fernando cared for beauty less than birth; but some one whispered to him that the elder daughter had defects through which the duchy must in time descend to Renée and her heirs. This whisper led him to accept an offer of the younger girl for Charles—that Charles who had been pledged, and pledged again, to Mary Tudor! In return, Fernando was to sacrifice his English allies, to conclude a separate peace, and guarantee the soil of France. Louis, on his part, was to give his child the duchy of Milan, the lordship of Pavia, and the republic of Genoa. A defensive league was to be made between the kings of France and Spain. Spain was to keep the stolen kingdom of Navarre. Each prince was to assist the other in recovering any places he had lost. This article was aimed at Henry in a double sense; the understanding of the sovereigns being that England should be forced to restore Tournay to Louis, and if the English still made war, Fernando undertook to drive them out of France!

4. When Henry heard of these amazing treacheries he broke into volcanic wrath. All through the autumn he had been expecting an advance into Guienne; but his mysterious father-in-law, instead of pushing towards the Garonne, had employed his time in making comments on the treaty they had framed. Fernando had been hinting that he wished to have more money and a larger German legion than the articles gave him. He desired to be excused a portion of his tale of ships. But more

than all, he asked to have the war postponed until another year! When Henry grew impatient, he proposed to make a better treaty. Caroz was instructed how to speak and act, in order to prevent the English troops from putting out their strength. He was to modify the articles. If the King consented, Caroz was to sign; if not, he was to stand aloof, and let the English army bear the brunt. Suspecting that neither Catharine nor Caroz might be able to prevent the King from carrying out an English policy in France, Fernando took such steps as would in his belief enable him to curb his son-in-law's too independent flights.

5. The first care of Catharine's father was to gain the Papal court, for Henry, as 'a pious fool,' might listen to his Pope when he would not be guided by his wife. Leo was a venal and ambitious man. By promises of helping him to raise his family, Fernando drew the Pope into a secret understanding for compelling Henry, by the use of papal censures, to relax his grip on France, and even to restore the territories he had won. Leo consented to his terms. Max was next assailed. What had the Emperor to gain, Fernando asked, by helping Henry in his wars against the French? By making peace, he would obtain the Milanese and Genoese countries for his grandson. He might eventually get Bretagne; and the ambassador at his court explained to him the physical defects of Claude. Here lay a chance of winning the great duchy that had lured him in

the day-dream of his youth! Of course, there was the Holy League; but since the Pontiff who had framed that covenant died, all parties to the treaty, save the English King, had changed their minds. Why should that headstrong youth stand out, when older and wiser men fell in? 'No man,' wrote the Catholic King to Max, 'can trust the English: neither you nor I feel sure of them. It will be good for us to leave them in the lurch.' Max listened to the tempter's voice, although his daughter Marguerite warned him of the perils he would risk by such a breach of faith. Henry now stood alone; committed to a war with France and Scotland; while his shameless father-in-law was pledged to drive him out of France!

6. When it was seen that Henry would not yield his conquest, Louis called on Spain for help. Fernando, certain of his strength, assumed an insolent and galling tone. 'Restore the city of Tournay: make peace with Louis: lay aside the empty and ridiculous style of King of France.' Such were his precepts, and the sense was not made pleasant by the form of speech. Henry was so enraged by these great acts of perfidy, that his bursts of passion seemed to change his nature. From a loving kinsman he became an acrid censor of Fernando. From a friend of Spain he grew into her mortal enemy. In his rage he swore that he had been betrayed; that Spain had urged him to engage in war; that he had helped the Emperor; that he had taken Te-

rouenne and Tournay; that though he fought alone, the enemy was crippled by his arms; yet in the moment of success his ally and father-in-law had made a separate peace without his knowledge and consent! He caused Fernando to be told that he could never trust his oath again.

7. And Catharine? The King still loved her as his wife, and in that love she had a sure defence, even while he was denouncing her father as the greatest criminal on earth. But the position was a dangerous one to hold. The Spanish party was dispersed and broken, and the Queen, having filled her court with members of that party, found herself alone. The party which believed that she was living in a state of sin were heard, and in no feeble voice. The war had thrown enormous power into the hands of Norfolk. Flodden had been his field of fame. The death of his second son, the 'bravest of the brave,' had raised his family to the highest round of glory. Norfolk, though a sage and cautious man, was known to be against the Queen's father, the Queen's marriage, and the Queen herself. The Duchess of Norfolk paid her no respect. The party now in the ascendant hardly made a secret of the fact that they regarded Catharine rather as a concubine than as a wife.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHANGE OF FRONT.

1514.

1. WHEN Longueville and Bayard were brought into the camp at Terouenne, Henry had behaved towards them with royal courtesy. 'Methought the Chevalier Bayard never ran away!' sneered Max, who was standing in the English tent. 'Yes, sire, and you were right,' said Bayard, proudly: 'had he run away, he would not have been a prisoner now.' Henry allowed that those who were engaged had fought like gentlemen; in sign of which he offered to pay one half the ransom of every man of quality who had fallen into his hands. On Longueville, as an agnate of the royal house, he showered his royal grace. Arraying him in cloth of gold, he asked him to his tent and to his table. When the servants came with water for the King to wash his hands before he ate, Henry commanded them to serve his prisoner. 'Sire, I may not dine with you,' said Longueville, shrinking back. 'You are my captive, and must do my bidding,' answered Henry. Longueville took his seat, and

from that moment Henry and the Prince were friends.

2. In his desire to spare his prisoner some of the more galling pains of captivity, Henry offered to place the young prince in Catharine's household. Writing to the Queen, he asked her to admit the prisoner to her circle, as the surest means of making him forget his late defeat and present misery. Catharine was alarmed by these proposals. Longueville was a dangerous man to her; not only an opponent of her father in the field, but an adroit and active enemy at her husband's court. Handsome, witty, and accomplished, Longueville made a friend of Henry, who had few companions of his age and rank. Even in the camp her husband showed his liking for the Prince by keeping him at his side, and dressing him in cloth of gold. Who could assure her what would happen in the daily intercourse of peace? France had many friends in London; and to place among these partizans such a man as Longueville was to give them unity and strength. Catharine had therefore treated him simply as a prisoner of her court, and put him under charge of Montjoy, the husband of her former maid of honour. On his reaching London, she intended to commit him to a dungeon in the Tower, just as, after Azincour, the father of Louis the Twelfth had been committed to the Tower.

3. But nothing of the sort was done. On his arrival in London, Henry received Longueville at

court, and treated him with the honours due to his illustrious birth. Longueville was with the King before his sickness and after his sickness, an acute observer of events, with wit enough to seize on every opportunity for serving France. They talked of love and war, of song and policy. Henry made no secret of his rage against the Catholic King. The partizans of a French policy were glad to have the help of one who had the ear of Louis, and the King was hardly out of danger from his fever ere a secret agent came across the straits. Gossips were told that he was settling the amount of Longueville's ransom, but, in fact, his mission was to lay the foundations for a separate peace, and settle the conditions of a close alliance of the reigning families. Much of this agent's work had been already done.

4. When Longueville, Brie, and Bayard were giving up their swords, a rumour had arisen in Rome, that Surrey had been worsted by the King of Scots, that thirty thousand English soldiers had been slain, and that a road to London had been opened by the northern clans. Vich, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, was urging Leo to accept a family alliance with the Catholic King. Fernando had two natural daughters, both of them called Maria, who had taken vows, and were actual abbesses of convents. But religious vows were nothing to Fernando. When his other children had been either married, buried, or imprisoned to promote his projects, he had turned to these poor nuns, and dragged

them from their cells, in order to employ them as his instruments in foreign suits. Vich offered one of these Marias, with a royal dowry, to the Pope's brother, Giuliano di Medici; and when the Pope objected to this union of his brother with a nun, Vich offered him a daughter of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples. Strange to say, the price of this alliance was to be the help of Leo in the holy war with France! 'If Leo desires to rid his country of the French,' Vich was to say, 'he must not waste an hour, but strike at once for liberty. . . . The King of England occupies the King of France in Flanders. Never has there been so good a chance of driving Louis out of Italy. . . . But let him take what course he may in person, Leo must write continually to the King of England, pressing him to prosecute the holy war.' These words were written by Fernando while his monkish agent was negotiating for a separate peace at Blois, and undertaking in his name to drive the English out of France!

5. Leo, a cautious man, inclined to give his countenance to the stronger side, had heard the news of Surrey's defeat with satisfaction; for an emissary had arrived in Rome from Paris, with proposals for a reconciliation of Louis and the papacy on almost any terms that Leo might be willing to accept. All Rome repaired to the French envoy's house, where every form of eulogy suggested by a southern brain was heaped on France and Louis.

Bainbridge could not gain a hearing for the truth. These false reports had come from France, but for a week the Pontiff and his people lived on lies. At length the truth arrived, on which the papal court turned round. Louis, it seemed, had been unfortunate; his forces having been beaten both in Italy and in Flanders, while his only ally in the field was crushed and slain. Amends were to be made. On Christmas eve and Christmas day a solemn festival was held, when Leo blessed a sword and cap, and sent them with his blessing to the victorious English King.

6. Longueville was invited by his royal friend to witness the reception of these tokens at St. Paul's. Spinelli, a papal chamberlain who brought these sacred gifts from Rome, was met on Blackheath by Dorset, Essex, and Wolsey, and conveyed into the city in a cloud of spears. The mayor and aldermen received him at the city gates, and all the streets through which he passed were thronged with people in their best attire. Warham was waiting at St. Paul's in high pontificals. The primate was a stranger to the court, and his return to public sight was like a sign in heaven.

7. Five years the primate had been thrust aside, as one whose presence was a menace to the Queen. Men could not see this venerable priest without recalling the debates in which he took so large a part, nor could they think of those debates without repeating his emphatic words. Let him be

silent as the dead, his face was an appeal against the Spanish match. The primate had not changed. His hands were pure. He had not given the King his brother's wife, nor had he blessed his nuptial couch. The Church of which he was the foremost minister had been a stranger to that lawless rite. A friar, as ignorant of law as any beggar in the street, had taken on himself to tie the knot, in blind reliance on a bull obtained by force, and issued to the world by fraud. Warham stood aloof, opposed not only to the marriage, but the policy to which that marriage led. He believed in France, and in a league with France, as giving Christendom her best security against the Turks. From this conviction he was never moved, nor could the friends of Catharine bring this honest prelate to endure the Regent of Castille. A man so strong in personal and official rank had not been easy to assail. Fox wished to have his throne, but neither Fox nor Catharine dared to speak against him, lest his lips might be unsealed in answer to their taunts. Had Catharine's infant lived, they might have acted openly against him; but the Church was with the Primate; and the friends of Catharine deemed it better not to raise the Case of Conscience by attempting to deprive him of his seat. They simply bowed and curtsied him from court. Too happy in his country house, he spent his time in reading books, in entertaining learned men, in caring for the welfare of his province, and in ruling the judicial bench. At length a change

had come about. The friends of Spain were out of favour, and the question of undoing the clandestine marriage had arisen. Once more the Primate was recalled to court, and men who saw his venerable figure at St. Paul's could only read it as a warning to the Queen.

CHAPTER IX.

LONGUEVILLE.

1514.

1. On a summer Sunday morning, Henry carried Longueville, with the Duke of Norfolk, and a crowd of peers and knights, from the bishop's palace to St. Paul's. A canopy was raised near the grand altar, under which the King received Spinelli, carrying the cap and sword. Spinelli handed in his letters from the Pope. The King's own sword was bared and lifted up. Spinelli bared the papal sword. Warham sang mass; Fitz-James, Bishop of London, read the gospel, Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, the epistle; after which Warham put the cap on Henry's head, and girt the sword about his loins. When all was over in the Cathedral, Henry invited the ambassadors to stay and dine; an invitation which they all accepted, saving only Caroz. The ambassador of Spain was ill at ease. In person he was rather liked, and those who clung to Spain were ready to support him; but the wrath against his master and his country was too strong for him to bear. Badoer heard one of the courtiers say to him, 'Ambassador,

dine with us; dine with us for good fellowship.' But Caroz edged away in silence. 'Ha, ambassador!' cried a second courtier, 'stay and dine with us; stay, the hour is getting late.' But Caroz would not tarry. 'He departed,' the Venetian said, 'in shame; the King of Spain having deceived the King in making peace. It was an error to betray a man so powerful as the King, who is his son-in-law: but the ambassador himself is not to blame.' According to the best opinion, nearly all the perfidy rested on Fernando's head.

2. Henry was dreaming of a triple marriage in the coming spring; the articles of which he had already, as he fancied, laid in Marguerite's court at Lille. His sister Margaret, Queen of Scots, was to unite herself with Emperor Max; his sister Mary with Archduke Charles; his friend Brandon with Archduchess Marguerite. In view of this great marriage, Brandon, already Viscount Lisle, was created Duke of Suffolk, and appointed an ambassador extraordinary to the Flemish court.

3. At twenty-eight, Brandon was somewhat wasted in affairs of love. He had already deserted a first wife, Anne Browne, and married a second wife, Lady Margaret Mortimer; divorced this second wife, Lady Margaret Mortimer, and in a fit of penitence remarried his first wife, Anne Browne; espoused a third woman in the person of Elizabeth Grey, sole heiress of Viscount Lisle and Lady Muriel Howard, sister of Lady Elizabeth Boleyn; received

on account of Elizabeth Grey the dignity left vacant by her father; and deserted this third wife, Elizabeth Grey, in favour of a more illustrious dame. The Church regarded Brandon as a married man, and every one called his third bride, Elizabeth Grey, 'Viscountess Lisle.' But Brandon cared no more about the churchmen than he cared about the citizens. He seemed to have his choice of royal and imperial wives. Mary Tudor seemed to favour him, and Marguerite of Austria seemed to favour him. Which lady should he take? Mary, the idol of his dreams, was daughter of a King; but Marguerite was daughter of an Emperor, with semi-independent rule. Even while he was whispering love to Mary, he had turned from her bright eyes to scan the charms of this maturer face. Marguerite of Austria had been married to Don Juan in the year of Mary's birth. Her second husband, Filiberto of Savoy, had been dead ten years. Yet Brandon felt no shame in leaving 'Lady Lisle,' to whom he was engaged, and Princess Mary, in whose heart he had a place, and venturing to address the great Archduchess. She had known him in the French campaign as Viscount Lisle; an ugly fact, considering that he had a 'Lady Lisle' in England; but his ducal name and rank might help his Austrian mistress to forget that ugly fact. As an ambassador he would have access to her house, and for the rest, he trusted to a handsome face, a stalwart figure, and a gorgeous suit of mail.

4. Aware of what Fernando had been doing at Blois, Longueville felt certain that the Catholic King, whatever he had sworn in order to prevent the match of Henry with Marguèrite de Valois, would never keep his contract with the English council on behalf of Charles. Nor was it likely either that the Emperor, who wanted money, would espouse the Queen of Scots, or that the Archduchess, even though her eye were taken captive for a moment, would consent to wed an English subject. Henry could put him to a test. The Archduke Charles was old enough to take a binding vow; and Henry, in accordance with the treaty, called the parties to appear in Calais, and complete those rites for which his countrymen had paid so great a price. Max pretended he was ready; but the town of Calais was too small, the season was unwholesome, and the council of Flanders had to be consulted in the matter; any lie that lay at hand was told. Marguerite, with a woman's insight, saw the danger of offending Henry in a matter which had always been regarded as a thing arranged. She might forget her fancy for the English duke, if Max refused his sanction to her marriage; but she longed to see the contract of her nephew Charles with the King's sister, Mary Tudor, carried out, sworn as it was. Pleine was sent by Marguerite to observe the English court and see how Mary looked. 'She is the loveliest girl eye ever saw,' he wrote; 'she is so graceful in her mien, dances

and plays so well, and is so sportive in her ways, that had you ever seen her, you would never rest till she was with you. She is short and girl-like, looking two years younger than her actual age.'

5. Fernando, in his anger with the English court, announced that he had torn the articles, that the match was at an end, that Charles had no authority to wed without his leave. In case his grandson kept his word, and married Henry's sister, the Catholic king declared that he would disinherit him, and make his younger brother, Don Fernando, king of Aragon and Castille. Nor was the boy himself disposed to carry out his father's plans. 'I want a wife and not a mother,' he complained; and courtiers, taking up the cry, repeated that their Prince should not be asked to marry an old woman, even for the sake of peace and trade. 'The girl is twenty-five years old,' they whispered; 'she is old enough to marry Charles's grandfather, and Cæsar might do worse than take her.' Hearing of this ribaldry, the King, who loved his sister, as the grace and humour of his house, was maddened into rage. Why should he not renounce this Spanish connexion, and renew the league which his sagacious father had maintained with France? Wolsey put these questions to him daily. 'Why have you broken off the match?' he asked Pleine. 'I hardly think it broken off,' the envoy answered. 'Why have you allowed the time to pass?' Pleine was not aware. He thought it was the truce; it might be simply Max's absence; he

was sure of one thing—nobody was to blame. But Wolsey was too well informed to be deceived. By every post from Flanders, Wolsey was receiving news which fired the King to fever-heat. Mary, the loveliest woman in the world, was being insulted in her youth and beauty by the Flemings, and the English agents in their country were insisting that the King should put an end to their disgraceful talk by breaking off the match. His love for Catharine checked a course that he was sure would cause her pain.

6. Longueville took advantage of the King's disgust. While the captive was in London, Anne, of France, departed for a better world, bequeathing her two daughters, Claude and Renée, to the care of Louise of Savoy, Duchess d'Angoulême. Claude, fourteen years of age, was contracted to the Dauphin, François d'Angoulême, and Renée, in her fourth year, was contracted by the recent articles to the Archduke Charles. Louis had no affection for his cousin and successor, François d'Angoulême, and he had only given him his daughter, Claude, in order that her great inheritance might not pass away from France. To spite this cousin, Louis was prepared for any sacrifice, even that of marrying a third wife at the age of fifty-two. 'I will marry and dispossess him,' said the King to his companions. François and his mother, Louise of Savoy, were amazed at this report; but Louis being abed with gout, and otherwise broken in his health, they

hoped he was too late to carry out such threats. What could be done to hinder him was attempted by a clever woman and a daring man.

7. Queen Anne being carried to her grave in the cathedral of St. Denis, Louis, having no time to lose, began to count the women whom a King of France could offer to espouse. First on his list stood Margaret, Queen of Scots. Margaret was young, and while her son was under age, she had a kingdom in her hands as Regent. Next came Marguerite of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands. These ladies had been married; one of them married twice. Then came Elinor, sister of the Archduke Charles; and Mary, sister of the English King. Elinor was fifteen, Mary eighteen years of age. To which of these four ladies should he make an offer of his throne? Longueville took care that Louis should be well informed about the charms of Mary. Under the pretence of treating for his ransom, he had been allowed to send as often as he pleased to Louis, whom he fired, not only by his advocacy of an English match, as being the wisest thing for France, but by his pictures of a face and figure which were held to be the loveliest in a land of lovely girls.

8. As Catharine feared, the King seemed ready to reverse the policy inaugurated on his wedding day. The Spanish alliance had brought him nothing but the bitterest sorrow. He would wear his chains no longer, and henceforth her father and her country must regard him as a foe. On

seeing how the King inclined, Wolsey made terms with the French agents on his own account. Louis had opposed his nomination to the See of Tournay, a French city, which he hoped to get restored to France. But since his return to England, Wolsey had been advancing at so great a pace that such a see as that of Tournay was of no importance to him, save as yielding him so much money in the year. Already he was Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of Cambridge. On news arriving in London of the murder of Cardinal Bainbridge, poisoned by his chaplain, Rinaldo da Modeno, at the instigation of Sylvestro de Giglis, Bishop of Worcester, Wolsey was made administrator of his province, with a firm assurance of succeeding to his primacy and his cardinal's hat. Yet nothing could assuage his thirst for money. Louis promised him a pension of a thousand crowns of gold a-year, together with the revenues of his bishopric of Tournay. On these conditions Wolsey consented to support the suit of Louis for the hand of Mary; and a few weeks later Louis made the King's sister a formal offer of his hand and throne.

Book the Sixteenth.

FRENCH ALLIANCE.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS XII.

1514.

1. To Mary, even had her heart been free, the change from Charles to Louis would have brought no rush of pleasure; for between a feeble lad of fourteen and a broken man of fifty-two, a woman in her nineteenth year, in perfect health and spirits, and endowed with high capacities for enjoyment, there was little room for choice. Time seemed in favour of the lad; but Father Time had done his best and worst for Charles. A premature young man, Charles was as staid at fourteen as another man might be at forty-four. Slow, firm, correct, he had no boyish failings; never twirled a stave, nor tossed a horn of wine, nor sat up late of nights. Each day he rose and dressed, and worked and dined. He had no vagaries, no illusions, no conceits. Trimmed like a clock, he kept

his tale of hours, pointing to the proper figures, and running down at the appointed time. Once he rode out in hunting gear, and once he danced till he was sick; but these things were recorded as exceptions to his rule. Love, romance, generosity, were as foreign to the soul of Charles as to a spar of ice. No one could say that Charles had a bad heart; for he had no such living organ as a heart. He was an engine, with an engine's virtues and an engine's vices. Max, who used to watch the lad with wonder, said, on hearing that he had been out hunting, 'We are very happy in this news, for we were thinking he could hardly be his father's son.'

2. Louis was a wreck, and no one fancied he could live a year. His hair was white and scant; his cheeks were puffed and swoln; his body bent, ungainly, and diseased. His feet were gnarled and stiff with gout. For some time he had shunned the sight of men; for he was quick and clever, and was but too well aware how little of a king he looked. To get him on his legs was hard; to get him on his horse was harder still; but he had lately seemed a little better, and the roll of drums and tramp of men had roused in him the passions of a prince. By easy journeys he had come as far as Amiens, where the agonies of gout confined him to his bed, while Longueville and Bayard were being captured in the lines near Terouenne. Yet Louis, though a broken man, was good, affectionate, and clever; an indulgent father, a decorous

husband, a sagacious king. His conduct in divorcing Jeanne of France was justified on public grounds. Towards Anne, his second wife, he had been as gentle and chivalric as though their early love had known no cross. It was his pleasure to be deemed a child of nature, though the childhood was a little wrinkled and the nature was completely French. A countryman of his has said, 'We are never born young, we Frenchmen; we become so afterwards.' In this sense the experienced Louis was a child.

3. Longueville's proposals were so welcome to the King, and to the Norfolk party in the council, that his success seemed sure, and Catharine's partizans were in despair. Deceived so often by the Spaniards, Henry was beginning to loathe his consort's countrymen, and, more than all the rest, her father. Nothing they could say was just, and nothing he could do was right. He frowned on Caroz, who retired to his apartments and concealed himself from public sight. Longueville would not speak to Caroz, nor were the French merchants on better terms with the Spanish merchants. Every one seemed to feel that London was a battle-field, on which the French and Spaniards were contending for a virtual mastery of the west. If Longueville won, England and France might lead the world; if Catharine won, Austria and Spain would lead the world. Mary was opposing Longueville; wishing to remain in England with the man she loved. Suffolk was also rallying to the Queen, as being the

foremost enemy of a French alliance. But the King would listen to no voice excepting that of his revenge. Henry was changing for the worse. His blood seemed turned to gall, and neither friend nor sister, though he loved so warmly, gained a hearing at his hands. Friend, sister, wife, all felt the fury of this change of mood; yet no one felt so much of it as Catharine's sire. No word could be too coarse, no blow could be too hard, for him to level at the King of Spain.

4. Early in March, Longueville had first expressed to Wolsey a friendly feeling of his master towards the English court and people. By the middle of April, Gattinara, an Italian agent of the Imperialists, told his mistress, Marguerite of Austria, that 'the old dotard would espouse the young lassie.' By the end of May it was already known in Rome and Venice that the basis of an understanding had been laid. While Caroz sulked at home, a truce for eighteen months was being signed by Longueville, who had secretly received the necessary powers. Two Norman officers came to London with proposals for a close political and family alliance. 'My demands,' said Henry, 'are a million and a half of ducats, and the three cities of Terouenne, St. Quentin, and Boulogne.' The officer drew back a little way. 'My master,' he replied, with caution, 'wishes to have peace, and is prepared to grant the usual tribute.' 'Ha!' cried Henry; 'if the King of France will take my sister Margaret, Queen of Scots, the

thing shall be arranged.' A courier was despatched to Louis, who replied from his sick bed, that he preferred the younger sister. Mary, after having had a conference with her brother, raised no more objections to the match.

5. Longueville completed his arrangements early in July. Louis was to pay the King a million gold crowns, in half-yearly instalments of fifty thousand francs, until the whole was paid. Mary was to renounce her contract with the Archduke Charles, and to become the Queen of France. On the other side, Mary stipulated with her brother, that if Louis were to die, she should not be compelled to form a second union for political reasons, and the King consented to her wishes on that point. The understanding was that she would wed no other man than Brandon when the King of France was gone.

6. At Wanstead Manor, where Mary kept her court as Princess of Castille, a goodly company was summoned to witness her renunciation of the Archduke Charles, whom she had called her husband for a dozen years. Norfolk and Suffolk, Wolsey and Fox, were present. Neither Longueville nor Caroz was invited to the royal manor, but the French ambassadors were aware of what the Princess was about to do. Their master had conferred on them the fullest powers. Verney, Mary's chamberlain, stood beside her, while she told the company that, by what she heard, the nearest relatives of Charles were trying to inspire him with

dislike of her, and of the King her brother; so that she was fixed in her determination never to fulfil her contract with the Prince. She added, that she had never liked Charles, as a wife should like her husband, and that she seized an opportunity of escaping from a hateful yoke. This resolution had been taken, she declared, without a lure, without a threat, of any person in the world; and was her personal act and word. She begged the noblemen and prelates present to attest her resolution, and to beg the King, her brother, to receive it in good part; since there was nothing she desired so much as to obey his royal will. Next day, a public record of this act was drawn and signed by legal witnesses; to which was added an oath by Louis, King of France, to keep inviolate the treaties he had made.

7. The next step was to choose a household for the future Queen of France. Norfolk, who undertook to carry her to Louis, had a right to choose her train; but Mary could not be denied a voice in the selection of her personal attendants. Wolsey and Suffolk were her chief advisers; and though Wolsey trimmed and balanced, as his manner was, many of her domestics were drawn from families opposed in policy to France and to her match with Louis. Needing some one who could represent his family in Paris, Norfolk turned his eyes towards Hever Castle, where the children of his departed daughter lived.

CHAPTER II.

ANNE BOLEYN.

1514.

1. ANNE BOLEYN, eldest of the Duke's grandchildren, was now a little lady in her fourteenth year. From childhood she had been a bright and elfin creature; one in whom the Saxon depths were lighted up with Celtic fire. Royal and saintly blood were in her veins, and rills from many sources, English, French, and Irish, mingled in her stream of life. She was extremely quick. Simonette, her teacher, could not set her lessons fast enough. In all the feminine learning of her day she was an adept; singing her score at sight, playing her lute and viol, dancing with the best, and broidering better than the best. But she had taste in things beyond the feminine learning of the day: an ear for wit and song; a taste for art and music; a regard for learning; and a love of intellectual gifts.

2. Boleyn had been careful of her moral culture. A grave and studious man, he wished his daughter to become a pattern of domestic excellence. One of his brothers was a priest. One of his uncles

was a priest. A ghostly influence lay about his house; and in the hush and sorrow of his widowed hall, his thoughts were often with the dead in Lambeth church. He got Erasmus to write for him that treatise on the Preparation for Death, which is one of his profoundest works. The future pupil of Tyndale, the future friend of Cranmer, the future patroness of Latimer, was led by her grave and widowed father to the early contemplation of a holy life.

3. These children had not only lost their mother, but their aunt; and they had seen that aunt replaced by one who made them strangers in their uncle's house. Fading in the prime of life, Anne Plantagenet had found her rest in Thetford Priory; and as the manors given to her reverted to the Crown, her sordid widower had looked about him for a second wife with an estate. The richest man in England was his father's enemy, Edward, Duke of Buckingham, whose rent-roll was no less than thirty thousand crowns a-year. Buckingham had three daughters; Lady Elizabeth, Lady Catharine, and Lady Mary. Elizabeth was fifteen years of age. Though young, this girl had given away her heart. Ralph Neville, grandson of the third Earl of Westmoreland, her father's ward, was a youth of her own age, of handsome person and illustrious name. The youth and maid had given and taken vows. Buckingham had laid his blessing on the match ere Surrey came to woo. Wanting her money, not her love, Surrey had wooed the lady in a way to make

her loathe him. Surrey was in his fortieth year, a worn and grisly soldier, with the manners and the morals of a camp. Buckingham had not been blind to the advantages of an alliance with the rival house. His wealth was vast, his standing insecure. A dozen starving men might batten on the spoil of his estate, and scores of starving men were ready on a sign to hunt him down. A union with the Howard family might help to guard him on his perilous height. Still, out of pity for the misery he was sure to cause, Buckingham had implored his guest to turn his eyes on Lady Catharine, the younger sister. Surrey would not have the younger girl. So Lady Elizabeth had become his wife; but, though he got her money, he had never ceased repenting of his sordid act. She hated him, and all his race.

4. No critic, not even her tutor, would have called the girl at Hever pretty. That she had a magic in her voice to work on noble natures was beyond dispute. Wyat, a perfect judge of wit and witchery, was her boy-adorer in these early days, as many a pregnant sentence in the Songs and Sonnets testifies.

> 'Forget not, O, forget not this:
> How long ago hath been and is,
> The mind that never meant amis,
> Forget not yet.'

But Wyat, though he praised Anne Boleyn as a perfect woman, never claimed for her more physical

beauty than may lodge in a pair of brilliant eyes. In such a child, Catharine would see no elements of a rival in her husband's heart. A fine and comely woman in the prime of life, what could the Queen have found to dread in that slim, pallid girl? If Anne had been an ordinary child, she must have been considered plain; but she was not an ordinary girl, as those who were about her knew.

5. 'I find, sir,' Anne replied, in child-like French, to her father, 'that you wish me to appear at court as befits a young lady; and you tell me the Queen will take the pains to see and speak with me. Glad am I to hear this news. Talking to a person so wise and good will make me more than ever wish to write and speak good French; the more so as you will be so pleased with me. Allow me to say, in writing, that I shall do my best to satisfy your hopes. If this note is badly written, please excuse me. It is all my own—the spelling out of my own head; while all the other notes were written by mamma. Simonette tells me I am left to myself that no one may know what I write to you. Pray, therefore, do not let your superior knowledge stand in my way. As for myself, be sure I am not so ungrateful as to think you might have left this thing undone. Be sure it will not lessen the great love I have for you; nor need you fear but that I shall lead the holy life which you desire for me. My love for you is built

on such a rock that it can never waste away. Craving your kindness and affection, I put an end to this my scrawl, and sign myself your humble and obedient child.'

6. Anne came to court in an unlucky moment for the Queen. Greenwich was warm with faction. A majority of the councillors were taking part with France, and pushing on the match with Louis; a minority were taking part with Spain, and striving to defeat that match. The venerable form of Warham was observed in public places; an appearance always to be noted as a sign that Spain was in disgrace. Norfolk and his consort, friends of France, were openly at enmity with Catharine. Compton was pushing her confessor to the wall. Dorset and Buckingham hardly showed their heads. Even among the few who railed against the French marriage there were differences of opinion, which disarmed them in the face of foes. Catharine was opposing the match with Louis for her father's sake; Suffolk and Suffolk's kindred were opposing it for their own. Catharine wanted Mary for her nephew Charles, who had not finally renounced his Princess of Castille. Suffolk desired her for himself, supposing, not without good evidence, that she preferred his handsome face to that of any prince on earth. Yet Longueville seemed to be the master of events. Caroz dared not go into the streets, much less appear at court. Henry was in a storm of rage, which nothing could appease; and those who took

their tone from him were speaking openly of the Queen's father as the vilest reptile in the world. Their talk was all of war. They canvassed his pretensions in Navarre, and cursed him for the part he made them play at San Sebastian. The King went farther still. He talked of throwing an army into Spain, not only to restore Albret in Navarre, but to expel Fernando from the kingdom of Castille!

CHAPTER III.

AT COURT.

1514.

1. THE word that had so often charmed the King was whispered in his ear, and for the first time Catharine found no magic in that word. It stilled some craving of his heart; but he was not so gentle as of yore. The spell had ceased to act, and even in his tenderest mood he found no civil words for Spain. Fernando had deceived him thrice, and he could think of nothing but revenge. If he should have a son, Longueville, he said, should 'attend his sacring;' that Longueville, whom the Queen regarded, and with perfect justice to his talents, as the foremost enemy of her race!

2. Compton, whose dislike of Diego was not lessening with the lapse of time, made haste to ruin him. This man, who had been near the King for years, who was the Queen's confessor, and who knew the secrets of their policy, was driven in haste and passion, like a common menial, from the palace gates. One day at dinner, in the sight of many persons, Henry turned on the confessor, called him a forni-

cator, and deprived him of his place as chancellor —an office which the Queen had given him, and which was always held for life. Diego tried to clear himself, but the impetuous foreigner would not hear a word. In vain her Highness strove to shield him from disgrace. Arrested on the spot, Diego was committed to the charge of Fox, his clerical enemy, who threw him into prison, and prepared a case against him. Pedro, Vadillo, and Ascrutia, three of the Queen's Spanish servants, came forward as accusers. Norfolk was appointed judge, and after hearing evidence, Norfolk condemned Diego to be sent away to Spain; adding, with justice, that, whether he were guilty or not guilty of the crimes alleged against him, he had given offence to the King, and was therefore banished from the realm.

3. 'Put me in prison rather,' cried Diego, having reason to believe that still more rancorous enemies awaited him in Spain. The accusation, the arrest, and condemnation, followed on each other's heels so quickly, that the Queen was staggered by the blow. 'If I am badly used,' Diego moaned, 'the Queen is still more badly used.' Fox may have feared that Henry would repent him of his passion, and recall Diego to his post; he therefore whispered to the friar, that as the King was hot, his life was hardly safe. 'Take heed, and get you gone,' said Fox: on which Diego, hoping that the Queen would soon regain her influence and recall him, put on a dis-

guise and fled on board a ship, which carried him to a Spanish port.

4. As soon as he was safe on shore, he wrote a cunning letter to the English King. 'I left my father and mother,' he began, 'the country of my birth, and the sacred order to which I belong, in order to serve the Queen, my mistress. For nine years I have served her faithfully: enduring every evil for her sake: even lack of meat and drink, of clothes and fire. The Bishop of Winchester set his face against me, and declaimed against the honour of my lady's house. Your grace has called me a fornicator. By the holy Gospel I swear this charge is false; never, within your kingdom, have I had to do with woman. Yet your Majesty committed me to the Bishop, and the Lord Treasurer, who hated me. I was condemned unheard. The witnesses brought against me were not only personal enemies, but disreputable rogues. Ascrutia is a perjurer and traitor to the Queen. Pedro, the keeper of your chapel, has a bastard son. Vadillo is unclean of life. Such men as these should not have been allowed to give their evidence against the confessor of so great a Queen. Too well I know my wrongs have sprung from the malice of Caroz and Compton, rather than from your Majesty's will. I marvel that your councillors were not afraid to banish me, seeing that I know the secrets of your house and kingdom, as I wrote in cipher all the letters which passed between you and the King of

Aragon in your earlier days. If you had listened to my voice, you would have lodged me in a prison, rather than thrust me out as you have done. If I liked, I could say much . . . but I refrain . . . yet I advise you to see whether your councillors serve you or only serve themselves. I left your realm, because I was condemned unheard, and saw too plainly that I should not be allowed to reach my native land alive. If you desire me to return to the Queen, I will; but on condition that I may be heard by honest judges. If I am proved guilty, I am ready to die; if not, I must be free to go away. I shall not go to the King of Aragon, unless I can appear before him with fifteen horsemen. If your Majesty sends me money, I will go to him; if not, I can earn my wages in the service of some other prince. Wherever I go, I shall pray that you may have sons; and so I beg of you to judge the poor in righteousness, especially the servants and confessors of the Queen.'

5. Anne Boleyn could not help but hear the people in her circle talk about these matters in connexion with the Queen, whom they regarded as a concubine, and not a wife. It was a singular thing for such a child to hear. In all the army of her kinsfolk, there was hardly one, except her peevish aunt, Elizabeth Stafford, who professed to be a friend of Spain, an advocate of the Papal bull, or an indulgent critic of the Queen. People were talking freely of the time when Henry would put

away that concubine, and take to himself a lawful wife.

6. Already they were seeking for a lady who might occupy her vacant place. A princess from the court of Blois would be extremely popular; but Renée was a child, and Claude was given to François d'Angoulême. The searchers had to go afield. Charles de Bourbon, who, since the death of Gaston de Foix, had taken the command in Italy, had two unmarried sisters, Renata and Anne, either of whom might suit the King when Catharine had been driven away. Renata was regarded by the multitude as their future Queen; the matter being so openly discussed in every place, that priests and cardinals in Rome were soon aware of what was being said in London; and a busy servant of the Signory transmitted the particulars from Rome to Venice. Henry, said this agent, would annul his marriage on the ground that Catharine was his brother's widow, and that all his children perished in their birth. He meant to put her off, and wed another wife without delay. No opposition was expected at the Vatican; at most, no more than Louis had overcome when he repudiated Jeanne de France.

7. At thirteen years of age, the innocent child from Hever, who had spent her days with flowers and books, her fancies bounded by a moat and garden, had to hear those questions argued in the heat of a great party house. An image was impressed on her that never left her mind in after

years. Catharine was presented to her young imagination as a worldly woman, who for worldly gain was sacrificing her repute; relying on a bull which no one out of Spain believed a pope had any power to grant. How could this child have any other feeling than commiseration for a queen who, of her own free choice, and for a worldly purpose, was persisting in a mortal sin?

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH.

1514.

1. WHILE the scheme of Henry repudiating his Spanish wife and marrying a Bourbon lady was lurking in the thoughts of men, Mary was giving her troth to Longueville as the proxy of his kinsman Louis. With the highest pomp and splendour, this betrothal was conducted in the hall at Greenwich Palace. Suffolk, having now given up his dream of Marguerite, was present; with a hint from Marguerite still fresh in mind, that he had better carry out his pledge to marry 'Lady Lisle.' The Queen was witness of a rite which threatened her policy, if not her married state; but the ambassador of her country was excluded by a formal act, as being the representative of a sovereign who had injured and betrayed the English crown.

2. No sooner was this rite performed, and Mary hailed as Queen of France, than all the partizans of Charles perceived their blunder in refusing to conclude the English match. Fernando counselled them

to act with prudence. He had still some hope from Catharine; for if Catharine bore a son, her influence in the council must be great. 'We must do all we can,' he wrote to his ambassador near Max, 'to get the King of England on our side; as an alliance of Austria, Spain, England, and Flanders, is the safest thing for Charles and for us all.' 'In spite of this affair with France,' he wrote to his ambassador at the court of Marguerite, 'we must try to win the King of England over to our party. Friendship with that Prince is necessary to the Emperor and myself, as well as Charles. Without such friendship Flanders may be overrun. I am doing everything I can to gain him over, and I beg that the Archduchess will do the same.' Max had sense enough to see that Flanders was in danger, now that England was become an enemy of Spain. Marguerite hardly grasped the situation. She had always been a friend to Henry, and her highest hope had been to carry out the match. When news arrived in Flanders that the suit was broken off, she sank into her bed and the physicians trembled for her life. Her pride was hurt; her government was touched. If Marguerite held that her own family were to blame, she thought the King too ready to forsake this project. 'He has falsified his word, and brought dishonour on his name,' she cried; adding, with a touch of female malice, that she would print his letters on the subject; a threat to which the King replied, in a strange vein for him, that if she pub-

lished his letters, he would publish hers, and drag her name through ruts of dirt.

3. A wise and cunning man stood near the side of Marguerite. This man was Juan Manuel, once the minister of her brother Philip, afterwards an exile for her brother's sake, and now the first adviser of her nephew Charles. Obeying Cæsar's hints, the Archduchess had made a sham arrest of Manuel to prevent the skipper and his men from carrying him away by force. Artieta had returned to his employer, and Fernando, disappointed of his prey, was begging Marguerite to detain and punish Manuel, as a villain who turned sisters against brothers and fathers against sons. Marguerite set him free, as indispensable to the conduct of her nephew's business in Castille. This man, whose rage against Fernando had been quickened by the late attempt to seize his person, saw the safety of Charles in having a friendly understanding with the French and English crowns. In Blois, in London, and in Lille, he fought against his enemy, Fernando, whom he painted as the enemy of God and man.

4. In her delicate health, and in a court where every one was changing, Catharine became a passive instrument of Manuel's purposes. Diego had inspired her with a wholesome dread of going too far. 'The Queen may mean the best,' said Caroz, still more isolated than herself; 'but she has no one near her person who will tell her how she may be useful to her father. Fray Diego is to blame for what has gone

so wrong. He told her that she ought to forget her country and her family, in order to secure the love of Henry and his people. She has grown so used to this idea, that she will do nothing else, unless some person is about her who can tell her sharply what to do.' If any one stood near the heart of Catharine, it was Maria de Rojas, the noblest and most devoted of her Spanish friends.

5. When moping in her room at Durham House, Catharine had cast about the realm for some one worthy of this woman's love. No family in England could despise a daughter of Francisco de Rojas, Count of Salinas, Captain-General of Castille, and envoy at the Papal and Imperial courts. Her glance had fallen on Thomas Stanley, orphan grandson of that Thomas, Lord Stanley, who had married Lady Margaret of Richmond, and received as his reward of love and service that royal earldom of Derby which had formerly been merged in the Crown. A member of the royal circle, living in the closest intercourse with King and Prince, this youth had seemed her man, and Catharine had striven to make a match, not only for Maria's sake, but for her own. Young Stanley had seemed to be fond of the young maid of honour; but the aged Earl stood out against her; and the lovers had been forced to wait till Stanley was a peer in his own right. When Derby died, Catharine had pressed her suit. 'I wish,' she had written to her father, 'to keep Maria near my person, and the girl desires of all things to remain with me.

I beg you to permit this marriage to take place.' The contract had been all but signed, when Catharine had discovered an intrigue in her own closet to defeat her schemes. Elvira had seen, as she supposed, a great advantage to her party in detaching Rojas from Fernando's side. A woman, she believed the way to act on Rojas was through an alliance with his daughter, and her game had been to cross the suit of Stanley, and promote the marriage of Maria with her son Antonio, a man of her own age and race. Maria would have been a fortune to Antonio Manrique. What arts were brought to bear on her may be surmised. Elvira was a mistress of intrigue, and life at Durham House was far from brisk. Beneath that old dueña's eyes, the proud and wilful maid of honour, while admitting Stanley as a suitor, and engaging Catharine to promote her marriage with him, had been brought to listen with approval to Antonio, as a means of strengthening the Castillian party in Toledo. Elvira had procured a paper from Maria which implied a promise to become Antonio's wife. That paper could not be recalled, and nothing but a Papal bull would cancel it. Catharine had been much annoyed. 'A strange affair,' the Spanish envoy had reported to Fernando, 'which covers every one concerned in it with foul disgrace.'

6. On her repenting of the folly of giving up Stanley as a sacrifice to politics, Maria had refused

to bind herself still more. When the dueña, and her son Antonio, quitted London to intrigue against Fernando in the Netherlands, Maria clung to Catharine, whom she loved and would not leave. Though treated by Elvira as a girl engaged, according to the Church, she had not given her hand. Stanley remained a friend of Catharine; not a busy one, for he was timid and retiring; yet enough so to become an object of suspicion to the King. Maria's promise to Antonio gave the crafty Manuel many opportunities of acting through her on the Queen, whom he entreated, and with some success, to look on all political projects with her husband's, rather than her father's, eyes.

7. Yet nothing could appease that husband's wrath. A rough and brutal temper had been roused in Henry, which escaped from him in frown and curse, while waiting for a wider vent in fire and blood. He treated Caroz like a dog. If any one chanced to name Fernando, he expressed his feeling for his father-in-law in coarse and odious words. So far as men could judge him, Henry was a fiercer enemy of the King of Aragon than either Manuel or Gonsalvo. Never again would he be cheated by that glozing tongue! All enemies of Fernando were his friends; all allies, kinsmen and connexions of Fernando, were his enemies. The Queen herself was for the moment odious in his sight. That hour for which he had been waiting many years was nigh,

yet in his brutal temper he respected nothing that reminded him of Spain. His consort was Fernando's daughter. In a rage which spared no living creature, he upbraided Catharine with her father's falsehood, and forgetting both his manhood and her womanhood, he spat his venom in her face. The daughter of Castille recoiled and fainted at this insult, and her son was born some weeks before the natural time. Her infant only breathed the air to die. Like all his brothers and sisters, her third son perished in his birth.

CHAPTER V.

IN PARIS.

1514–15.

1. MARY carried into France a train of peers and ladies such as rarely wait on royal brides: the great Duke of Norfolk, and his wife; Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and Lord Edmond, two of his sons; Anne, Countess of Oxford, his daughter, and Anne Boleyn, his granddaughter: the Marquis of Dorset and his wife; Lord Edward, Lord Richard, Lord John, and Lord Leonard Grey, the Marquis's brothers, and Lady Elizabeth Grey, his sister: Ruthal, Bishop of Durham and Secretary of State: Lady Guilford, Mary's governess; with a hundred other persons of inferior rank. Somerset, Earl of Worcester, and Docwra, Prior of St. John of Clerkenwell, premier English baron, were already at the French court, preparing to receive the Queen. Abbeville was full of English peers and dames. On seeing this array of servants, Louis was amazed and vexed. A man of simple ways, who loved to nestle in his rooms, and spend his leisure hours in the society of his wife, Louis had no objection to such dainty little maids of honour as

Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth Grey, but found the prim and aged Lady Guilford an abomination in his house. This woman sat beside her charge, as though Mary were a novice from some convent, out for a day, and going back into her cell at night. She would not leave the Queen alone with Claude, nor step aside even when the King came in to see his bride. Louis proposed to Norfolk that the English train should be reduced.

2. Norfolk was but too ready to comply; for Wolsey had selected the Queen's attendants with a view to his own projects. Wolsey was advancing with a rapid step. Already he was Archbishop of York, and Henry was asking Leo for a cardinal's hat. Norfolk mistrusted the ambitious priest. Aware that Norfolk could not, in the sense of nature, tarry long, Wolsey was courting younger men; chiefly such younger men as Suffolk; who appeared to have the future in their hands. Norfolk detested Suffolk, both on public and on personal grounds; his opposition to the French alliance, and his conduct to Norfolk's granddaughter 'Lady Lisle,' having been extremely base. Norfolk was, therefore, willing to dismiss the creatures sent to France by Wolsey and Suffolk. A modest household for the Queen of France was named; an almoner, a chaplain, a physician, three pages, four maids of honour, with five male and two female servants. All the rest—a multitude of lords and ladies, knights and abigails —were escorted back. As Mary needed some one

near her person to assist her tongue, Anne Boleyn, Norfolk's grandchild, and Lady Elizabeth Grey, both cousins of the injured 'Lady Lisle,' were two of the maids retained by Louis in the service of his queen. Anne Boleyn's French was fluent; and her sprightly air and sportive way soon made her an attraction, even in a court where 'so wise and good a Queen' as Mary reigned.

3. François d'Angoulême, concealing his abhorrence of this English marriage, called a grand assize of arms in Paris, where the knights who had so lately met in open field might break a lance in honour of the bride. François had been educated in a liberal, not to say a libertine school. At twenty he had freed himself from the control of priests and friars. If gownsmen swarmed about his mother's ante-rooms, he used them for his purposes without submitting to their rule. No superstition clung to him. He had a genuine taste for art, a passionate love of wit and song. No scholar and no painter turned to him in vain; nor was he ever happier than in company with learned and inventive men. A youth so brilliant gave to France the promise of a long and prosperous reign; but even in these early times he had one grave defect. An absolute slave of female arts, he spent his days in hunting lovely eyes; but rather than forego the pastime, he could follow such a hag as Valentino. By a freak of fortune, François had in Claude a homely wife; a woman short and fat, as plain in

face as she was good in heart; a wife who, even in their honeymoon, had wearied him with her piety and love.

4. Mary rose on François like a star. Before he saw this English girl, he hated her as a rival who was coming to snatch from him the crown of France. When he beheld her face, he put aside his injuries and made himself her chosen knight. In ambling by her side, he paid her compliments so bold that she was forced to check his tongue, lest he should drop some word too warm for married maid to hear. Louis was lying on a couch, unfit to move, and Mary nursing him in pain; the girl of eighteen summers tying up his gouty leg and measuring out his daily potion; doing her duty bravely, in the hope that when her task was ended, she might find herself free to give her hand where she had given her heart. Louis tried to please her by a change of life. In other days he used to dine at eight and go to bed by six; to please the Queen he dined at twelve and seldom took his couch till ten. François felt no jealousy of Louis; but he set his teeth against that upstart English duke who was supposed to have a place in Mary's heart.

5. Anne Boleyn lived with Mary at the palace of Les Tournelles, in the Rue St. Antoine, near the Place Royale and the Bastille. Louis liked this house, which stood in glades and gardens, far from the river fogs and chills; and here he passed his honeymoon with his fair English spouse; wrestling

with his disease, and gazing on her beauty from his bed of pain.

6. François told the English ministers in Paris he had taken a fancy for the King of England, whom he meant to serve no matter in what quarrel he should stand engaged. His reference was to Catharine's father and a coming war with Spain. He hoped the Duke of Suffolk, as a man of prowess, would adorn his lists. These lists being opened in the park of Les Tournelles, heralds set out for Canterbury, where they published Angoulême's challenge. François meant to shame the Duke in Mary's eyes. If Suffolk came to Paris, Angoulême might turn his presence to account in many ways. Suffolk was ready to accept his challenge; but the English Council was divided as to whether Henry should permit him to depart. Norfolk opposed his going, and the King was not unmindful of the danger of placing his handsome friend at Mary's side. But Wolsey backed his suit, and the Queen's party having taken, like Fernando, to obsequious flattery of the King, Suffolk was suffered to set out. Yet even on the way he feared to be recalled. His going was regarded in the Council as a check for Norfolk and the partisans of France; a gain for Catharine and the partisans of Spain.

CHAPTER VI.

HÔTEL DE CLUNY.

1515.

1. On New Year's Day the invalid closed his eyes in peace. After eighty-two days of nursing, rather than of reigning, Mary Tudor was a widow, Anne Boleyn was maid of honour to a dowager queen.

2. Next day François, now King of France, arrived at Les Tournelles, to pay a visit to the widowed Queen, whom he assured of his affection and respect. Later in the day Mary and her ladies left her palace in the Rue St. Antoine for the Hôtel de Cluny, in the Rue des Maturins St. Jaques. By royal etiquette the widow of a King of France had to pass six weeks in a closed room, lit only by a wax taper. She was attired in white, and was called during these mourning days La Reine Blanche. The room in which Mary passed these weeks was small, and the adjoining closet smaller still. Few of her women could attend her; but among these few was little Anne. François came again to see the Queen. 'Madame, may I consider myself as King?'

he asked. 'You may,' she answered; 'for I know no other king but you.'

3. The moment Louis was no. more, François conceived the scheme of keeping Mary in his kingdom. Claude was ill, and her physicians told him she would not survive the birth of her first child. If Claude should die, he might propose to Mary with assurance of success. Nothing could be more touching than his bearing towards the widowed Queen. He looked to all her wants, and saw that everything about her was according to her taste. Each night he called at the Hôtel de Cluny to console her. Blois was placed at her disposal, with a revenue of twenty thousand francs a-year. He told her she should have more power in France than ever. If he could not bring the dead to life, he might do many things to make her easy, and his intention was that she should have as much authority as a reigning queen. Mary was frightened by his hints. Finding he made no way, he changed his line, by asking her if she would take a husband chosen by himself. As King of France he had a voice in the disposal of her hand; would she accept his cousin, Antoine de Lorraine? Antoine was engaged to marry Bourbon's sister—that Renata de Bourbon whom the Roman proctors were already talking of as Catharine's successor on the English throne. François was only trying her; but he had many rivals to defeat; for every wifeless prince in Europe was proposing for La Reine Blanche. The

Prince of Portugal, the Prince of Naples, and the Duke of Bavaria, were in the field. Charles of Savoy put in claims which were supported by his half-sister, Madame Louise. Charles of Austria, having made so great a show of anger at the loss of his betrothed, was bound to ask for a renewal of his former suit. Max, too, was dreaming of her beauty and her jointure. Sending for her portrait, Cæsar took the picture in his hands and gazed into the lovely eyes for more than half-an-hour in silence. 'Is it like?' he asked a secretary. 'Yes; it is the Queen herself.' Max wrote at once to say that Henry ought to get his sister home from France. François was aware how many and how potent were the suitors at her feet.

4. Anne Boleyn sat in the closed room with Mary, while these comedies were being played. No one save François trespassed on the Queen's grief. Wolsey had written to Mary, even before her husband died, warning her against intrigues for the disposal of her hand; to which she had replied by saying she was not a child. When news of her bereavement came to London, Suffolk wished to start for Paris, to be near her; for he knew the King of France, and trembled for the lovely widow in the power of that licentious prince. A pass was hard to get, for Henry, having found a great advantage in his sister's marriage, was disposed to blink the promise he had given her when she left him to espouse the aged King. But Wolsey, finding in the Duke

a firm support against the Howards, put out his secret might, and Suffolk was allowed to go ambassador to France. Yet strong precautions were taken by the King to guard against surprise and treachery. Suffolk was made to take an oath, with Wolsey for his witness, that he would abstain from making any personal use of his position; in either seeking to obtain improper influence with the Queen, or suffering her to pledge him an unsanctioned troth.

5. When Anne Boleyn and the other maids of honour were not in waiting on their mistress in the lighted chamber, they occupied a small ante-room, opening on a garden, into which they could descend by means of a spiral staircase, like the one at Hever Castle. Winter lay without, and etiquette forbade the girls to pass beyond the gates. Except a daily visit from the King, they saw no company, and François only came to see the Queen at night.

6. Finding these English ladies in his way, François packed them off. Three of the four maids of honour were escorted back to England, while the fourth, Anne Boleyn, as a grandchild of the eminent soldier who had brought her into France, was taken into the household of his wife. A dull and pious soul, Claude found the airy grace and innocent mirth of Anne a welcome change. François surrounded Mary at the Hôtel de Cluny with creatures of his own.

7. One evening, late, he came to the Hôtel, and saw the widowed queen as usual in her apart-

ments. He came to speak with her, he said, about his kinsman, Charles of Savoy—would she wed the Duke? The tapers threw their shadows on the Gothic walls as François put his question to the widowed girl. But Mary had the spirit of her race:—'I may not listen to you, sire, without my brother's leave.' He pressed her more and more; telling her that, unless she married in France, her brother would compel her to accept the hand of Charles. 'Never,' cried Mary; 'if I am to die for it!' Then he told her, as a secret, that Suffolk was coming over with the object of enticing her to London, where her freedom to decide between her several suitors would be lost. Mary, fearing he might try to injure Suffolk, threw herself on his honour as a man, by making him a partner in the passion of her youth:—'If you will promise me, by your faith and truth, and as you are a prince, that you will keep my counsel and assist me, I will tell you all the matter in my heart.' François pledged his word to her. 'Be plain with me,' he said, 'and I will do my best to help you, whether it shall be in my realm or not.' Then Mary showed him how the matter stood, and begged him to assist her, not only in the question of his own consent—she being a Queen of France—but in procuring from the King, her brother, a fulfilment of his pledge. François agreed to serve her. If he were unable to keep her near his court, her union with an English subject suited him much better than her marriage with a powerful prince.

CHAPTER VII.

CATHARINE AND MARY.

1515.

1. No less excitement reigned in Catharine's closet than in Wolsey's cabinet; for Catharine, inspired by Manuel's counsels, was intriguing to renew the match with Charles. Spain had no ambassador at the English court. Worried by the people and insulted by the King, Caroz had gone away without his master's leave. 'Sire, I am treated like a bull at which every man hurls a dart,' he had complained. Fernando begged him to be patient. Caroz had waited till the child was buried, when he fled to Aragon, where he supplied Father Juan, Provincial of the Order of St. Francis, with a statement of his case, and begged that holy man to see the King, explain his conduct, and obtain a pardon for his flight. Caroz threw all the blame on Catharine, who, he said, 'had told her father what was not the truth,' and on Maria de Rojas, who received her orders from Fernando's enemies in the Archduke's court.

2. Manuel was fond of dark and crooked ways.

Maria de Rojas had a kinsman, Juan Aduna, living in a Flemish port, who had a higher aim in life than making money in the ordinary ways of trade. This cousin of the Rojas longed to get a place at court, and follow the aspiring fortunes of his prince. Manuel sought him out. Aduna saw in Manuel not only one of Charles's chief advisers, but a near connexion of his own. What was Aduna's aim? The treasurership in Charles's household. Manuel held out hopes that he should have that office, and Aduna put himself in Manuel's hands. Thus, Manuel could address his counsels to Maria, certain that his hints would reach the Queen, with whom they might have greater weight, as she would not suspect their actual source. A daughter of her house, Maria was glad to find her mistress turning towards the party of Castille; that party which denounced Fernando as a murderer, and resisted him as a usurper. Catharine was listening to her words, for Catharine was alone, and in her loneliness she gave Maria all her heart. 'She loves Maria more than any living thing,' said Caroz, in excuse for not being able to resist her. Through Maria it was easy to suggest the policy of renewing Charles' contract with the widowed Queen of France.

3. Catharine had lived on cordial terms with Mary Tudor, finding her a strong support with people who were neither statesmen nor divines. The beauty and the intellect of Mary raised her far above the line of Catharine; but Mary was involved in troubles

of the heart, akin in some degree to those which threatened Catharine's peace. Mary was dreaming of a man whose power to marry her was denied by those who railed against the Queen. Two living women had borne her lover's name; Margaret Lady Mortimer, and Elizabeth Lady Lisle; from neither of whom had he been lawfully divorced. That he could offer her his hand was true; but that her children would be born in wedlock was denied. To have such questions mooted was a dangerous thing for Mary, who had given away her heart, ere she was old enough to understand the perils which beset her path. Mary was near the throne, and any question as to the legitimacy of her offspring had the same political bearings as the questions which disturbed the King and Queen. The King's sister, therefore, lent no countenance to the men who preached about the sin of marrying on disputed grounds of law.

4. Yet Catharine, listening to insidious counsels, sent to her by Manuel, was induced to do her utmost to prevent her marriage with the man she loved. Manuel wanted to renew the articles with Charles, as being the only means of separating England from the side of France. The match need not be carried out; but it was wise to keep the prospect open. Catharine was anxious to assist her nephew, for the match with Charles had been a foremost object of her husband and herself in their clandestine marriage. If the match with Austria were renewed, and

Henry saw some prospect of his sister mounting the imperial throne, he might forget his loss, abate his passionate mood, and wait with patience till a Prince of Wales were born. Again she had some hope that way, of which she made the utmost. Catharine was so wretched in her mind, that she forgot in some degree her sense of right and wrong.

5. Among the friars who hung about her gates prepared to do her will, was Father Langley, whom the Queen had formerly employed in confidential errands to the Queen of Scots. This father went to Paris on a mission to the Hôtel de Cluny. Mary, having known him in her brother's house, was sure to hear him for that brother's sake. His mission was to libel Suffolk and prevent the widowed Queen from marrying him. Wolsey was also to be sacrificed, for Wolsey was the Duke's supporter. Langley carried his instructions out. On his arrival in Paris, he first said mass, and then walked to the Hôtel de Cluny, where he asked to see the White Queen. Admitted to the darkened chamber, he assumed a lofty and prophetic character, and bade the royal mourner kneel before him and confess her sins. Mary refused. Langley then told her he had said his mass, and made his God that day. Speaking by the bread and wine, he swore that under seal of her confession he had things to tell her of the utmost moment to her peace: things which he knew, and which she ought to know. Having roused her female curiosity, he warned her

to beware of Suffolk, and renounce all doings with him as she loved her soul. The Duke, he whispered, had communings with the devil! Wolsey was involved; but Suffolk was more guilty than the Cardinal of York. By means of evil spirits, they had bound the King, her brother, to their will; and now their fiendish arts were to be exerted on herself. She doubted! He could give her proof. She was aware that Compton's leg was bad. The Duke and Cardinal had done it! He, a holy man, was evidence of the fact.

CHAPTER VIII.

LA REINE BLANCHE.

1515.

1. A SECRET matter was entrusted by the King and Wolsey to the jouster. After throwing his rivals in the ring, Suffolk was to conduct a delicate negotiation in the cabinet. The jouster was to propose a meeting of the two kings at Calais, a joint attack on Spain, a restoration of the kingdom of Navarre, and the expulsion of Fernando from Castille! 'The King of Aragon,' ran the Duke's instructions, 'has taken forcible possession of Navarre, which he detains against the lawful prince. You are to ask the King of France if he is ready to drive the King of Aragon from Navarre? If he is ready, you are to offer him the utmost power of England in his enterprise.' So far, the offer may have met with Wolsey's own approval, though an expedition to restore the Albrets to Navarre might seem a waste of English blood and gold. What followed was a crazy act, which showed that Henry's brain was staggering in this storm of passion. 'You shall tell the King of France that Castille belongs of right

to the late Queen's daughters, one of whom—Catharine—is the wife of Henry, who claims that portion of the kingdom which belongs to her by birth. You are to ask what Louis thinks of this pretension, and to ask what aid he will afford if England should attempt to conquer such provinces as form the inheritance of the English Queen?' A sting was added by the outraged monarch, even to these wild suggestions. 'You shall take such measures with the King of France as may inflict the greatest injury on the King of Aragon.'

2. When Suffolk got to Noyon, François sent for him, in the evening, after his public audience, to his bed-room, and amazed him by these opening words: 'My Lord of Suffolk, it is noised about that you are come to marry the Queen.' Suffolk was confused, not knowing what to say, for he had no idea that the King was privy to his suit. 'I beg your grace will not impute to me so great a folly, as to come into a strange land and carry off a Queen without the sovereign's leave. I have no such object; nor was anything of the kind proposed, either on my master's part or mine.' François only smiled. 'It is not so,' he chuckled; 'to be plain with you, since you will not be plain with me, the Queen herself has told me all.' Then François whispered in his ear some things which no one could have learned except from Mary. 'Rest in peace,' said François, 'you have found a friend in me. Have no ill thoughts about the Queen. I give you in your hand,

my faith and troth, that I will never fail either her or you, but help you in this matter as I would myself.' Mary was anxious to go home, and marry Suffolk with her brother's leave, according to his pledge. But François feared to let her go away unmarried; fearing that if she went to London free, the policy of Manuel and Catharine might prevail, and Charles obtain his blooming English bride. Judging by himself, François felt sure that neither Henry nor his Council would consent to sacrifice so much, in order that two lovers might be happy in each other's arms. He therefore told the widow he had news from England that the King, her brother, only waited her arrival in his kingdom to renew the match with Charles, and advised her, if she loved the Duke, to take the only course now left to her—that of marrying him at once.

3. Calling Suffolk into her closet, La Reine Blanche told him they must either marry then and there, or lose all chance of happiness in life. Mary was right. The King, her brother, was inclined to sacrifice her to affairs of state. The Queen, her sister-in-law, was eager to renew the match with Charles. She told the Duke of Father Langley's visit, and the charges he had made against the Cardinal and himself.

4. 'You have to choose, my lord,' said Mary to the Duke. 'If you will marry me, you shall; but you must do it within four days, or never.' The light in Suffolk's brain was dimmer than the taper in

that Gothic room. He loved, he feared, he paused. 'Decide!' said Mary. Then the man gave way. Ten persons were invited to the Hôtel de Cluny; François being one of them; when a nameless priest stept into the tiny chapel, said his office, and made Suffolk and Mary Tudor man and wife.

5. Six weeks later La Reine Blanche quitted the Hôtel de Cluny on her road to England, taking with her all that had remained in Paris of her modest household, with the sole exception of Anne Boleyn. Anne had become a favourite of Claude, who took her into service as a living link between the court of Paris and the English partizans of France.

6. This marriage, let the canonists say what they pleased, was felt by Norfolk as a blow. If Henry should forgive the Duke, and take his sister, now the Queen-duchess, to his heart, Wolsey, as their councillor, would be all in all. To fight them was his only chance; and Norfolk, having a majority of the council at his back, demanded that Suffolk should be arrested, tried for treason, and condemned to death. This movement was so strong, and Henry seemed so wavering in his mind, that Wolsey stood apart, and tried, by a suggestion here and there, to separate his fortunes from the Duke's. 'The King,' he wrote to Suffolk, after the event, 'continueth friendly in his good mind and purpose towards you, for the accomplishment of the said marriage, albeit that there be daily on every side practices much to the let of the same; which I

have withstanded hitherto, and doubt not to do so till ye shall have achieved your intended purpose; and ye shall say by that time that ye know all, that ye have had of me a fast friend.' As the cry grew louder for Suffolk's punishment, Wolsey affected to be deeply hurt by his treachery to a noble master. 'Cursed be the blind affection and counsel that have brought ye hereunto!' exclaimed the Cardinal. Nothing was left for Suffolk but an abject bending to the yoke. He had offended; he submitted to his judge. 'Punish me with prison; strike off my head: let me not live!' he cried in his despair.

7. Happily for Mary and her husband, neither Catharine nor the Howards were in perfect favour with the King. Catharine had taken to her couch too early, and another still-born child was added to the list of judgments on her sin. The Howards were somewhat out of grace as partisans of France.

CHAPTER IX.

BIRTH OF MARY.

1515–16.

1. ROBERTET, the French treasurer, drew up a memoir on Henry's project for invading Spain, in somewhat of a sneering tone. 'The King and council,' says Robertet, 'told the Duke of Suffolk that they do not understand what claim the King of England has on the kingdom of Castille. Being ignorant of the laws and customs of that country, they cannot give an opinion on this point; yet, if the King of England and his council are convinced of his good right, if they are ready to drive the King of Aragon out of Navarre, and if they are resolved to conquer either a portion or the whole of Castille, the King of France promises to help them as a friend and brother, without pestering his brain as to who is right and who is wrong. The King, however, takes the liberty of saying to his brother, the King of England, that he cannot shut his eyes to the fact that if they were to raise an army and seize no more than Navarre, the gain would not be worth the cost.' François would do his best, but he was

occupied with his affairs in Italy. Could Henry help him with a loan? So rich and great a prince might lend him money. If the King, his brother, would but help him now, François promised that by-and-by he would ask for more!

2. Though caring little for Navarre, and nothing for Castille, François had his heart in Italy, the land of art and song, of liberty and light. Fernando had been wise enough to leave the northern slopes and valleys of Navarre to France; so that the French had as much interest as himself in keeping out the rightful prince. If Albret were restored, he would require the French to quit St. Jean and Pau. So long as Albret was a fugitive, Bearn could be held by France without much show of guile; and why should François place in dubious hands a gateway of the Pyrenees? The field of rivalry was Milan not Navarre. Fernando needed Milan as the capital of his projected kingdom of the north of Italy; while François, following in the wake of Charles and Louis, was determined to annex the Milanese to France. Domestic wrangles in Castille were nothing to the French. In truth, Fernando's usurpation in that country was a gain to them, as a perennial source of discord in the reigning house. Unlike his English brother, François was a cool observer of the Catholic King.

3. François regarded Henry as a bigot ruled by priests and women. Henry regarded François as a rash and profligate boy, who needed good advice.

A wit, a scholar, and a soldier, François wanted no man's counsel, least of all in what concerned his plans in Italy. What all his countrymen wanted was the sceptre of the world—a sceptre which they said belonged of right to France. 'The King is young, mighty, and insatiable,' wrote Wingfield, 'and the whole of France is at his back. He spends his time in reading that inflames his blood, and talking in a strain to set his auditors on fire. To him France is the banner of the Church, the mainstay of the Christian commonwealth.' But Leo had no confidence in a Church upheld by France, with projects of reform, schismatic colleges, and disobedient cardinals, and he was moving heaven and earth against the French. Fernando was engaged in forming a 'most holy league,' to which the Pope, the Emperor, the Duke of Milan, the Swabian League, the Swiss Confederation, and the Republics of Genoa and Florence, readily agreed. Two envoys, Meza and Lanuza, came to London to observe the state of things, to soothe the angry sovereign, and to plot against the French. These agents found their task easier than they had thought. François was doing many things to drive the English from his side:—strengthening the defences of Terouenne; taking the crown of Scotland under his protection; and, in the face of protests, sending the Duke of Albany to dispute with Queen Margaret the guardianship of her son. Henry was vexed, and Wolsey preached in vain. 'The French King will not go to Italy this year,' said Henry,

pale with fury, to Giustinian; 'he is afraid of me, and dare not cross the Alps.' Yet while the English prince was boasting, François dropt into the plains of Lombardy, and by his victory at Marignano saw the north of Italy at his feet.

4. Annoyed by these successes, which eclipsed the glories of his own campaign, Henry listened to the words of Meza. Catharine was again elate with hope, and Henry was as quick as ever to receive her news. If she should only bear a son! A handsome present from the King of Aragon smoothed the way to a more cordial understanding of the crowns. Another treaty was proposed. Fernando wished to bind his son-in-law to strike the French in Artois; but the King would hear of no more wars dictated by the Catholic King. Henry was dreaming of Mount Zion and the Holy Sepulchre. He might have fought for Leo, but the Pope had settled his business with the French. A formal treaty was the utmost Meza could obtain from Henry; a renewal of the former state of things between them; but with no provision for attacking France. The future was as yet a mist in Henry's eyes. His kingdom was without an heir, nor could he say how soon misfortune might compel him to select a second wife.

5. Early in the new year Fernando died, of dropsy, at a village on the road to Seville. Queen Germaine was with him; for the King, though gallanting from dame to dame, was jealous of his

wife, and never left her in the palace when he rode abroad. No grandee of Castille was in his train. Fernando died as he had lived, — a lonely and unloving man, with not a soul on earth to mourn his loss. Bernardo, Marquis of Denia, jailor of his daughter, rode beside his coffin to Granada. But the Queen was absent; the Cardinal of Spain was absent; all the nobles of Castille were absent. Turning from his corpse, the Queen and Cardinal rode to Guadalupe, and thence to Madrid, in order to salute the messengers of Archduke Charles, now King of all the Spains.

6. Catharine took her room before the news arrived at Greenwich, and her father's death was kept a secret till Monday, the eighteenth day of February, when the Princess Mary was born. The child was strong and lively; and the King, if disappointed in her sex, was pleased to see her rosy face. Giustinian offered him congratulations in the name of Venice, saying the Signory would have been still more pleased had the royal infant been a son. 'We thank you,' said the King, in his old gladsome tone; 'the Queen and I are young enough. It is a girl this time; yet, by the grace of God, a boy will follow her.'

7. On Wednesday morning Mary was christened in that chapel of the Grey Friars which her grandfather had built and in which her mother had been married. Born in the air of Greenwich, which the King regarded with a superstitious fondness, Mary

was to prove, in spite of many signs, the emptiness of that curse which was supposed to rest on Catharine's married life. Her coming was a pledge of peace, and Henry's wishes were to reconcile all parties at the font, in order to secure his child the free acknowledgment of foreign powers, the full support of all his temporal and spiritual peers. Wolsey, now a Cardinal, was chosen godfather as a friend of Spain and Germany; the Duchess of Norfolk was chosen godmother as a friend of France and Venice. Giustinian thought this choice an act of prudence; no one power being placed above the rest. Lady Catharine Courtney was second godmother. Norfolk stood near the head, Suffolk near the feet, of the princess; Courtney bore the basin; Surrey held the taper; Dorset kept the salt. Boleyn and three others carried the canopy, under which the Countess of Salisbury held the infant in her arms. A crowd of peers and prelates thronged the passage from the palace to the Grey Friars Church; and, in the general gladness of the nation that a child was born, all parties seemed to give and take the kiss of peace. No one remembered in that happy hour, that an event which calmed the winds to-day was certain on the morrow to provoke a storm.

CHAPTER X.

A REFORMATION.

1517–19.

1. For some years after Mary's birth, the policy of Wolsey reigned supreme. No other voice was heard, no other hand was felt, than his. A policy of peace abroad and unity at home; of peace preserved at any price, of unity procured on any terms; was followed with a single object. Wolsey wanted to be chosen pope. In order to prepare the way in Rome, he had to play his game in every Catholic court; to twine between all factions in the Church; to buy and sell all parties in the State. In marching towards his goal, he snatched up and he threw aside all means that served him for the moment. Every man who held a vote was dear to him. Every one who ruled a voter was still dearer to him. Kings and queens were precious in his sight, for kings and queens might get him votes. If Mary lived, he thought the Queen was safe, and therefore he became her partizan. In everyone he sought an instrument of his success. He even found a use for Anne Boleyn, the young lady who had been detained in Paris by Queen Claude.

2. Wolsey was a negative, not a creative ruler. Such an impulse on the Church as that of Amboise, that of Luther, that of Erasmus, was beyond his hard and practical genius to communicate. A firm and biting grasp was on the helm of state; but he who grasped it chose to stand alone. The Cardinal brooked no comments on his words and acts. It was his care to stop inquiry and prevent debate. He silenced Parliament, and made a pulpit of the chair of state. Greedy of toil, he took all branches of the public service to himself. The elder councillors were driven away; the younger councillors became his clerks.

3. Some weeks before Mary's birth, Wolsey, safe in the support of Catharine's friends, had opened fire on Warham. As in earlier days a smooth and specious policy was observed. Treated with the public deference due to virtue, learning, and repute, Warham was galled by private insults and disturbed by personal quarrels. Anxious to secure some leisure for his studies, he resigned the Seals. Wolsey, on succeeding him, carried matters in so high a tone, that Warham ceased attending at the council table, and his absence was a subject of remark to foreign courts. The Primate was at Croydon Park; his call for reformation in the Church and State unheeded; and his time and purse devoted to the help of learned men. 'When close upon my fortieth year,' Erasmus writes, in one of the notes to his Greek Testament, 'it was my good fortune to be

introduced to Archbishop Warham. Cheered by his voice, and aided by his purse, my spirits rose within me. Warham gave me youth and strength to labour in the cause of learning. All the gifts which nature and my country had denied to me, his generosity supplied in full.'

4. But when this patron of learned men was driven to Croydon Park, a 'great reform' was undertaken by the King and Queen supported by his eminence of York. Catharine had been more than friendly to her brethren, the knot of Grey Friars who lodged beside her gate. After Diego fled to Spain, she had taken Father Forest into confidence, and Father Forest was clamouring for a 'great reform.' For, even in the order of St. Francis there were men in whom the spirit of the time was rife. A Grey Friar, living by his founder's precept, was a man to live on alms, to dress in rags, to feed on rye-bread, thrown to him by the poor, to sleep on door-steps and in kennels, to abide with lepers, idiots, and the refuse shot from styes and stews. A friar possessing lands, books, chapels, houses, rights, immunities, was to men like Forest and his brethren at the palace-gate, a living lie, an outrage on their founder, and an insult to their Church. Yet such had been the weakness of some members, that a branch of their society was set apart for daintier labours than the founder had designed. St. Francis bound his followers to absolute poverty; poverty being, no less than chastity

and obedience, essential to his theory of a holy life. But many pious persons, wishing for their help in purgatory, tempted them to sin by offering money for their prayers. As gifts fell in, the brethren asked permission from the Popes to set their founder's rule aside, in order that a portion of their members might be free to enter on a higher service to the Church. They asked for leave to live in towns, to build houses, to adorn their lowly chapels, to collect manuscripts, to farm their own land, and teach the sciences and arts. If gold enough were sent to Rome, the brethren rarely failed in their attempts. The friars who lived in convents, called Conventual Friars, were gaining on the friars who still observed the founder's rule, and were, in consequence, called Observant Friars. Abandoning their proper field of labour, the Conventual friars assumed the charge of taste and learning, art and literature. St. Francis warned his sons to lodge in lowly sheds, and fence their garden, if they had one, with a hedge of briars; yet his degenerate children reared themselves such churches as the Cordeliers in Paris and San Juan in Toledo. Though he warned them not to study books; for reading was a snare to pious souls; they made themselves the masters, not of logic and theology only, but of all the physical sciences then known. Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon, two Franciscan friars, were intellectual rulers of the world.

5. Even in Spain the Grey Friars had not found

such favour as in England. Spain was Dominican, England Franciscan. The brethren were known by many names; Franciscans from their founder; Minorites from their assumed humility; Grey Friars from the colour of their rags; Mendicants from their mode of life. The Sisters were known as Clares, Poor Clares, and Minoresses, and again as Mendicants and Urbanites. The Conventuals had their seat near Newgate, in a pile that all but rivalled the great edifice in Toledo. Twenty kings and queens were counted on the roll of benefactors. John, Duke of Bretagne, had built the Church; Margaret, Queen of Edward the First, had raised the choir. Four queens were buried in that holy ground; with dukes and earls, prelates and priors, beyond the memory of man to tell. Whittington, having no fear of learning in his heart, had built the library, and filled the shelves with costly books. Gold cups and crosses graced the altar, and the windows were aglow with painted glass. An air of ease and wealth, of study and refinement, lay about their court. These luxuries annoyed the stricter brethren in their cells. Each party in the Order, Conventual and Observant, claimed to be the true exponent of their founder's rule, as modified by successive popes. Of higher birth and training than their rivals, the Conventuals tried to silence the Observant friars at Greenwich, who, being strong in Catharine's favour, met them with a clamour for a great reform in Newgate Street.

6. Appeals were made by the Conventuals to their friends the prelates, by the Observants to their friends the people. In racy parables the Observants attacked their cloistered brethren as faithless to their rule, their founder, and their God. Look at their garb, the ragged brethren cried; no longer a thing of shreds and patches; but a robe of wool, well combed, well dyed, and costing in the shops six shillings an ell. The Observants beat the Conventuals on this question of the dress, and forced them to resume a garb of coarse and undyed wool. Supported by the people, the Observants visited the cells and convents, and compelled the fathers who had gone astray in luxury to resume their ancient habit and their founder's rule. The districts so regained were called Provinces of the Reformation, and the friars rejoiced in their recovery as of districts purged from deadly sin.

7. In all these efforts, the Observants had the strong support of Catharine. Chiefly through English pressure, Leo called a chapter of the order to meet in Rome, where the Conventual and Observant friars might urge their arguments and put an end to wrangles most injurious to the Church. Leo had lately canonized a number of Franciscan martyrs, having, in spite of his own taste and learning, a strong regard for these cheap supporters of the Holy See. The friars came trooping into Rome. While Luther, in his monkish habit, was nailing his ninety-five theses on the church-door at Wittemberg, a

crowd of friars was climbing to the Capitol, in order to promote their Great Reform.

8. Perched in the air, and looking down into the ancient forum and the vineyards which concealed the Golden House of Nero, rose the convent of Santa Maria d'Ara Cœli, head-quarters of the Franciscan rule in Rome. Within this pile, from which the priests of Jupiter used to watch the flight of birds, the brethren held a long and fierce debate. One side was strong in argument, the other strong in money, and the passion of all parties ended in a compromise. Leo issued a Bull of Union; which divided the two fractions from each other. With the Observants lay a sense of victory. They were to have precedence at funerals and other ceremonies in which the members of their order took a part. Their general was to be called a minister-general, while the chief of the Conventuals was called a master-general. Numajus was appointed general. Forest was happy, and the Queen content. The King and Cardinal were also satisfied; for nearly all the friars in England gave up their temporals. The Reformation was declared complete!

CHAPTER XI.

PRINCESS MARY.

1518.

1. For nearly three years after Mary's birth, the King was fretting himself into a fever with the hope that boys would follow. No man ever pined for sons as Henry pined. There seemed a promise that he was not praying and going on pilgrimage to shrine and rood in vain; but nothing came of his delusion, save a fresh addition to the long and weary tale of blighted hopes. A second year this promise was renewed; at first with much ado of secrecy; afterwards, with public laud and noise. Henry and Catharine were at Woodstock. Henry left her in disguise, to have a private talk with Wolsey over French affairs. When he returned to Woodstock, Catharine met him at the door, and whispered something in his ear that set his face aglow. 'My lords,' he cried, turning to his councillors, 'as soon as I have spoken with you, we shall all be merry.'

2. Pace, the new Secretary, wrote that night to Wolsey, ordering him in the King's name to have

a 'Te Deum laudamus' sung with great solemnity at St. Paul's. Lauds were chanted in the Royal Chapel, and the world was told in many forms that England was about to see the long-expected heir of Lancaster and York. 'God grant,' Giustinian prayed, in his despatches to the Signory, 'that the Queen may have a son, in order that his Highness, having a male heir to follow him, may not be hindered as at present from engaging in affairs of moment.' Every man in England was repeating the Venetian's prayer; yet Catharine's saints were not inclined to help her. When she took her room at length, it was again to be delivered of a girl, who perished in her birth.

3. One spark of life was left in Mary, who was like her mother in the fashion of her face, the colour of her hair, the plumpness of her flesh. On her the King poured out his heart. A royal court was formed for her. A royal lady, Margaret Plantagenet, widow of Sir Richard Pole, was chosen governess; and this lady's kinswoman, Catharine Pole, was chosen nurse. Margaret Lady Bryan, a sister of Sir Thomas Boleyn, was appointed lady-mistress of the household. Mary had a chamberlain, a treasurer, a chaplain, and a lady of the bed-chamber. Her establishment cost the treasury fourteen hundred pounds a-year. Henry was so fond of Mary, that dandling her in his arms, he carried her up and down the house; showing her face to those he favoured most, and suffering a

special favourite now and then to kiss her hands. Yet he was careful to surround her with a regal fence. No queen had ever reigned in England, nor was any lawyer sure that females could assume the crown. All recent history had tended to destroy that notion; so that for the sake of Mary he was careful to assert her royal rank. No man, however high, was suffered to salute her on the cheek. Whoever came into her presence was to doff his hat, and if the babe were held before him, he was made to kneel. But more than all, her parents meant to marry her betimes; that her succession might be settled as they wished by public acts, and men might grow familiar with their future King and Queen. What prince should they select?

4. To Catharine the occasion was a golden chance. Her nephew Charles, now King of Spain, was sixteen; he would be thirty when Mary came of age. Could Charles be got to wed his cousin? Charles was no doubt engaged to Renée; but Renée was a younger daughter, and the Salic law had prevented her from bringing him a crown. Mary would have the crown of England in her gift. Unless the critics of her birth should gain the upper hand, nothing was likely to prevent her being Queen. Charles would have an interest in maintaining the validity of her marriage, and, as King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, he would be strong enough to curb impugners of that right. No other match for Mary suited Catharine; and though the friends of

France opposed her project, emissaries went to Flanders with proposals from the Queen. Aware that Charles was pledged to Renée, Catharine had to act in the affair with prudence, yet the secret of her mission soon transpired, and was communicated to the Doge.

5. To her alarm, the doubts she meant to bury out of sight, were brought by her proposal to the front. Was Mary born in wedlock? Both the enemies of Clement and the councillors of Charles were ready with this question. To the first it was a weapon of offence against the Papacy, like the royal marriages in Portugal. The French and German canonists denied that popes have power to grant a dispensation for a man to wed his brother's widow; not as an isolated fact, affecting Catharine, but as part of their contention with the Holy See. They limited the papal power on every side. Nothing annoyed the King so much as this attack of the Reformers on his marriage with the Queen. Their books were coming into England, where opinion was already ripening for another Great Reform. In Cambridge they were read and spread, in spite of chancellors and college dons, and every one adopting the new learning was compelled to question the validity of that papal bull. It was a serious thing for Catharine; and the King, her husband, turned his heart against these heretics, as preachers, who, in aiming at the papacy, were wounding him on his domestic side. The cause of Clement was in fact

his own. He had a motive in his love of Mary for exalting Rome. Vain of his pen, he set to work, and slowly brought to shape his curious Defence of the Seven Sacraments; a book in which he exalted the papal power beyond the patience of so strict a Catholic as More.

6. Charles's councillors were only too familiar with such topics as degrees of affinity and rights of birth. Their lawful Queen, the Excellenta, was an exile, and her kingdom was divided into factions, on account of an asserted flaw in her descent. François was offering her support, and if that Princess were to succeed in escaping from Portugal, the fire of civil war might soon be lit in every city of Castille. Without offending Catharine's ear by calling Mary illegitimate, these councillors were against her project of an English match.

7. Their dynasty, they thought, was hardly safe enough for Charles to take a wife from any other house than that of Portugal. These councillors were right, and Charles, as grandson of the first usurpress, found himself obliged to follow where the court of Lisbon led. Manoel's terms were growing higher as the royal Nun advanced in years. Having buried the second of Catharine's sisters, he was asking for her niece, the beautiful Archduchess Elinor. Elinor was in love with Friedrich, Count Palatine of the Rhine, one of Charles' favourite courtiers. But the King of Portugal was not a man to be denied; and Charles, in anger at his sister's plead-

ings, snatched a love-letter from her bosom, drove the Palatine from his court, and sent her to Lisbon as a bond of peace. But Manoel was not satisfied. His eldest daughter, Isabel, was fifteen years of age; and Charles, he said, must take her for his wife! Neither Charles nor Elinor liked this Portuguese dictation; but while the Excellenta lived in Santa Clara, Manoel the 'Fortunate' believed he could dispose of Spain.

8. Henry was extremely loth to have this question of Mary's birthright raised. In spite of Amboise, Warham, and the Canonists, he thought his marriage honest and his daughter's birth beyond dispute. Inquiry was an insult. To discuss the matter was to throw a doubt on Mary's title to the crown. But while the King was fretting at his question, Charles was busy counting up the gains, and pondering on the risks, of an engagement with either of the three ladies. Cold in blood as he was smooth in words, he kept a correspondence open with the Queen, his aunt; now thinking of Renée and her chances of inheriting the duchy of Bretagne; now dreaming of Mary, and her prospects of succeeding to the English crown; now turning to Isabel, and pondering on the mischief Portugal might work him in Castille. The boy took time for adding and dividing in an endless series; but the father, sickening of this icy caution, listened once again to men like Norfolk and Boleyn, who urged him to renounce his Spanish policy, and resume his old alliance with

the French. Claude had presented François with a prince. As Mary was but two years old, there would be no great difference in their ages. Could a match be made between the Dauphin and the Princess ?

9. Boleyn and some other gentlemen of the Howard party went to Paris, but without a formal credence, while the main negotiations were conducted with the greatest secrecy in Wolsey's cabinet. Having a daughter in the court of Claude, Boleyn passed to and fro without exciting much suspicion on the part of Charles; the more so as he had some family matters to arrange with Mistress Anne. At Wolsey's wish, he had to lay before his daughter Anne the offer of a kinsman's hand.

Book the Seventeenth.

ANNE BOLEYN.

CHAPTER I.

ANNE'S FIRST OFFER.

1518.

1. When Ormond was about to sink into his rest, he called his grandson, Boleyn, to his chamber, and presented him, as his successor in the many honours and estates of the Butler family, the white ivory horn, from which St. Thomas of Canterbury was supposed to have drunk his wine. It was accepted as a charm, by which the Ormond honours were secured for ever to the saintly race. Each earl, on dying, had left this talisman to his son; with an injunction that he must never part from it, under any stress. As Ormond's heir-at-law, Boleyn was the true possessor of this talisman. Ormond laid down the burden of his life, and found his rest in the small city chapel of his family saint, hoping that his sedate and able grandson might obtain, by royal favour, both the Irish and the

English honours of his house. The ivory relic gave assurance of success.

2. When Ormond was no more, Red Piers, his Irish bailiff, claiming to be heir, according to the Brehon law, assumed his title, and, being resident as his officer at Kilkenny Castle, overawed the kernes, and sought by violence to seize their rents. Lady Margaret, Anne's Irish grandmother, appealed to Henry for support in her resistance to this Irish suit and sword. In point of English law the case seemed easy to arrange; but English law was not the only question raised by these doings of Piers the Red. Wolsey was thinking of what was safe in point of fact, as well as right in point of law.

3. Sir Piers Butler, tenant and bailiff of Kilkenny Castle, was one of those fighting chiefs, whose blades were seldom sheathed. By turns, his actions had been useful and vexatious to the crown; the man being loyal when his rivals, the Fitzgeralds, were afield; suspected when these enemies of his house were piling arms. For many years, the history of Ireland in the Pale had been a record of this strife between the Butlers and the Geraldines. At times, a stranger, such as Poynings, had been sent to Dublin; but the rule had been for either Ormond or Kildare to hold the deputy's place. Which house should reign, depended much on accidents of time and place; the Crown being willing, as a rule, to leave that office in the strongest hands. One day a wedding-ring, another day a poniard, settled the

affair; but neither maiden beauty nor galloglas crime allayed for any length of time this rivalry for place and power. Two kings cannot sit on one throne, nor could two deputies reign within the Irish pale. Of old, Kildare was Yorkist, Ormond Lancastrian; but the council was endeavouring to efface these party lines. The task was hard, for neither Butler nor Fitzgerald was disposed to yield the foremost place. A Butler thought himself a bigger chief than a Fitzgerald; having his royal blood, his saintly horn, his double earldom in the Irish peerage, and his seat in Parliament as an English peer.

4. For seventy years, the chiefs of this great house of Ormond had rarely been in Ireland, save on public business; and their servants and retainers only knew them as the absent lords. One earl had fallen on the block at Newcastle; another on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Boleyn's grandfather was attainted in the first year of Edward the Fourth; but when the star of Lancaster again rose, he had regained the honours and estates belonging to his family, with the sole exception of that Earldom of Wiltshire, which the Staffords had at length secured. Ormond had led a studious life; occasionally varied by an embassy to France or Flanders; but his studious days were spent in Essex, never in Kilkenny.

5. Left without a resident chief, the stewardship of the Butler lands had fallen to a younger branch; and Piers the Red, living in Kilkenny Castle,

one of the strongest fortresses in the island, had been able to rally the most daring spirits of his sept. Piers drew his line from Richard, a younger son of the third Earl of Ormond, who had married Catharine O'Reilly. Every member of this branch had mated into Celtic houses. James, the father of Piers, having been useful to Ormond as steward, an Act of Parliament was granted to his Irish paramour, Sabina, a descendant of the kings of Leinster. Red Piers was the third son of this pair of Irish lovers. A strong and daring lad, he was selected by his father to succeed him as steward of the Ormond lands. In many a raid and fray, the youth had justified his father's choice; not more against the Geraldines, his natural enemies, than against such native chiefs as the M'Moroughs and O'Briens. Like many of his Celtic neighbours, Piers was glad to have a fight; yet, in his hectic blood, he made a good impression on the English council, as a man who might be played against the Geraldines, in case that Yorkist family became too strong.

6. In answer to the prayers of Lady Margaret, Henry told his deputy, Kildare, to summon Sir Piers Butler before the Irish council, and render every lawful help to Lady Margaret Boleyn in recovering such lands and tenements as belonged to her. In case of his failing to put an end to the dispute, according to law and justice, Kildare was to summon all parties to appear before the English council, personally, by the feast of All Saints.

7. More out of fear than love, Kildare had given his sister Margaret in marriage to this Irish chief. 'Mairgread Geroit,' as Lady Butler lives in Irish legend, was a big and handsome woman, with a spirit still more daring and imperious than her lord's. Her speech was loud, her eye was fierce; and woe to the poor kerne that crossed her path! She was so swift, that people fancied her a creature of the air, who forced the winds and waves to do her will. In the long line of Irish heroines, no female ranks with 'Mairgread 'Geroit.' In the memory of that superstitious race, she ranks with Cromwell and the Dane, as a mysterious agent of the past. She built, according to these legends, every antique castle in Kilkenny, though the eagle's nest, called Ballyragget Castle, was her favourite seat. This woman had a son, named James (after the Celtic heroes of her line, not Thomas, after the Saxon saint), for whom she was resolved to keep the coronet they had seized, in spite of what the King, and even the King's deputy, might say. That deputy was her brother. Riding to Dublin, with her son, she strode into the council-room. 'My lord,' she said, 'is engaged in fighting the King's enemies, the O'Carrols, and he may not leave his camp, unless you wish to see his country in a blaze.' Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin, thought they might presume so far on their instructions as to give Sir Piers a little time. Another day was fixed; when

Piers replied by his attorneys. Lady Margaret Boleyn produced a paper, under the Great Seal of England, setting forth her title to the Ormond property. What titles do you plead? inquired the court of Piers' councillors. These councillors had no titles to produce; but they appealed from English scraps of paper to their own unwritten laws.

8. It was no easy thing to see a way through such a maze. The English rule in Ireland was but partial, even in the Pale: a strip of land, not much larger than an English county, held in subjection by a few forts and stations on the coast. Louth, Meath, Dublin, Wexford, and Kildare, were commonly included in the Pale; but of the western portion of these shires, the kernes and galloglasses made a border belt, more desolate and disorderly than the wilds of Donegal. Beyond the Pale, in territories ruled by the O'Donnells and O'Neills, the King's authority was unknown. Chiefs fought against each other, slew their enemies, and carried off their kine, without the deputy's leave. Large armies met, and fights were lost and won, of which the councillors in Dublin hardly heard. Even in the Pale, the Celtic septs of Toole and Kavanagh clung to hill and bog; and it was only in the towns that English usages prevailed. Outside the walls, the people were of Celtic blood. They used the Irish tongue, and suffered under Brehon law. Each sept had its own duke or chief. Lands never passed to wife, and rarely passed to son. In theory,

they fell at every death to the sept, who were to choose another chief by clash of spears. In practice, they were captured by the strongest arm and quickest brain. Red Piers was not the eldest son, nor was he born in wedlock; yet his titles were supported by his partizans, as being in consonance with Irish rules.

9. The matter came before the English council, where a natural wish was felt to compromise the suit. On public grounds, it was desirable to keep a powerful sept of Butlers in Kilkenny, as a check on the rapacity and treachery of the Geraldines. Which heir would make the stronger chief? A woman could not rule an Irish sept; and Boleyn, though he held the magic horn, had never set his foot on Irish soil. Red Piers, a native of the bog, had been a man of battle from his youth. Why not arrange the feud, as Irish wars were mostly ended, in a wedding-ring? Surrey, a rough and selfish soldier, thinking of no one's feelings but his own, approved the scheme of settling the dispute by a marriage. James, the son of Red Piers and 'Mairgread Geroit,' was a youth of parts. Suppose he were to marry Anne Boleyn? If such a match were carried out, the English and Irish branches of the family might be reconciled. Red Piers might then become the chieftain of a powerful sept; the Geraldines might be kept in order; and the King's affairs might prosper in the Pale. Anne Boleyn had to be consulted on the point.

CHAPTER II.

CATHARINE AND ALESSANDRO.

1518–19.

1. BOLEYN was at home in Paris, where his daughter lived; though nothing came of the attempt to match her with a son of Piers the Red. François was willing to renew the intercourse of former days. Being master of the Milanese, nothing but the jealousy of England hindered François from becoming master of Italy. Max was offering the Imperial crown and dignity for sale. In other times, a King of France had worn that diadem, and François, dazzled by his early victories, imagined he could crush the Austrian troops and carry off that glittering prize. 'My realm,' he said to Boleyn, 'is worth six millions of gold a-year; and I will spend three millions of it to become Emperor.'

2. François was master of his realm and of himself. A dauphin had been born, yet Claude, in spite of all her doctors, was alive. The duchy of Bretagne appeared to be united finally to the rest of France. No stranger save the King of England held an acre of his soil. If Henry could

be dazzled and deluded into friendship, even for a season, France could push her armies towards the Rhine as safely as she threw them on the Alps. François had already bought the Cardinal with money down, a yearly pension, and a promise of support in Rome. He heard that France was popular in London, while Spain was never named without a sneer and curse. Not meaning to go very far, at present, he was under no compulsion to suggest unpleasant doubts. If he had thought of Mary as a future Queen of France, he must have looked her title in the face; but having no design beyond securing Henry for the day, he let that perilous question rest. The Admiral of France, the Bishop of Paris, and a cloud of gentlemen, both French and English, came to London, with proposals for a match of Mary and the Dauphin. Boleyn came home with them, having done no good with Anne about the Irish match.

3. Thinking the French in earnest in these offers for her daughter, Catharine was sickening with despair. She knew a French connexion would be fatal to her house; not only to her nephew in his public right, but to herself in her domestic peace. A prince who could dispose of France and England, as the Dauphin might do if he married Mary, would be master of the West, and neither pope nor emperor would be able to oppose his will. Diego's warnings had not sunk so deep as to prevent her feeling for the good of Spain; the

less so as the strength of Spain seemed more and more essential to her own support. Her party was becoming weaker. Buckingham had lost his credit, and was not unlikely to lose his head. Fox had resigned the Privy Seal to Ruthal, and retired from public life. Dorset was seldom seen. Maria de Rojas had left her to become the mistress of a separate home. Breaking through her contract with Antonio, she had given her hand to William Willoughby, seventh of the barons Willoughby d'Eresby, in a match of love. Maria had her troubles with the priests about her former pledge, and, like her mistress, she had brought her husband no male heir to his estate. Though Lady Willoughby held a place at court, yet, having a country-seat at Parham and a fortress in the Barbican, she had many duties to perform elsewhere. Catharine had to fight her enemies very much alone.

4. In an unlucky hour, a man came up from Italy in search of his reward, whose knowledge of her early married life with Arthur she had every cause to dread. This man was Padre Alessandro, the Italian teacher and confessor of her youth. Since his recall from England, on the score of his knowing too much, the Padre had been writing books; tracts in divinity, sacred and profane verse, polite letters, works of travel, politics and education, appeals to Christian unity, and proposals for a war against the Turk. He had been going to and fro about the earth; seeing the courts of Kings and

Queens, riding in the desert sands, and sailing over stormy seas; yet carrying with him everywhere the simple faith which Isabel had found so dangerous to her plans. Like nearly all his learned countrymen, the Padre was a Friend of Light. On Marguerite's invitation, he came to Mechlin, where he gave the Archduchess lessons in poetry and history, and she in turn had written in favour of her teacher to the Pope. Leo, a lover of polite learning, appointed him Bishop of Monte Corosino; but the lady's generosity was not exhausted by a first success. A man, who, in the camp before Granada, had come between Columbus and his critics with the pregnant and decisive word, should have his part, she thought, in that new world which he had helped to make. She wrote to Charles in favour of the scholar, and her nephew got the Pope to name him Bishop of San Domingo. He was fond of Catharine, whom he had not left one moment from her birth till he was snatched away from her at Durham House. Her father gone, he knew no reason why he should not come to her again, and spend the remnant of his days in sight of her whom he had watched so long and loved so well.

5. Leo gave him a line to Henry, in the character of papal nuncio. 'Alessandro, Bishop of San Domingo,' said the Pope, 'can tell your Highness all about the Turks.' Catharine received him with such coldness, that the good old priest was staggered by

her looks. Her love seemed turned to gall. What he had done to merit such a change of face he could not tell. Henry hardly knew him; being but ten years old when he had been decoyed on board the Spanish ship. Wolsey had no reason to be civil to a man whose only merit was a knack of spinning verse and prose. Unable to get on, but never dreaming why his presence was disagreeable to Catharine, he procured fresh letters from the Pope. 'Alessandro, Bishop of San Domingo,' said his Holiness to Henry, 'comes of the ancient family of the Geraldines; a family which has produced a number of eminent prelates. He is a great historical writer, and his works have won the praise of learned men. This year, at my request, the Catholic King has named him to the See of San Domingo. Two-and-twenty years he served as tutor to the children of Fernando and Isabel, and he has always blown his horn in honour of your Grace.' The Pontiff also wrote to Catharine, begging her to do what lay in her for Alessandro. He had been, the Pope reminded her, in favour with her mother, and had been her teacher during many years. With little change of phrase, he could apply to them the proverb, 'Senex puellam instruebat, puella autem senem tegebat.' But neither pope nor prelate could persuade the Queen to give him any post.

6. Marguerite was shocked by what appeared to her an act of black ingratitude. 'I pray your High-

ness,' Marguerite wrote to Catharine, 'to regard your preceptor in his old age. For some slight service to myself, I have obtained for him the bishoprics of Monte Corosino and San Domingo. It is only right that you, for whom he has done so much, should find him a still higher recompense.' The Padre wrote to Wolsey in astonishment at Catharine's conduct. 'My services to the Queen are known to every one. Why is her Highness vexed with one who is devoted to her? I ask for very little; not for such rewards as Marguerite, daughter of the Emperor, deigned to give me for my five months' lessons; but for such consideration as is due to one who has spent his best years in her service. May the Queen be blessed with offspring, and the highest happiness of life!' But neither prayer nor sarcasm touched her heart. Her nature was being soured and hardened in the strife. It suited her that a man whom she had equal cause to love and fear, should sail for San Domingo and prepare himself an early grave.

7. Catharine was absent from all shows and banquets given to the French ambassadors. What comfort had she in the King's defence of Rome against her questioners, if her daughter Mary was to reign in France instead of Spain? She shut herself in her closet, and her servitors made their comments on the fact. It was reported in Toledo and Mechlin, that the French enjoyed the highest favour in London; that Catharine was thrown completely

into shade; and that the King went mumming and dancing with his sister Mary, the Queen-duchess, to the French ambassador's house. At length, the news ran over Europe that a match was made, and that the future King of France and Queen of England would be man and wife. It was a stunning blow for Spain; undoing all that had been done for her by thirty years of fraud and crime. The partizans of a French policy, elate with their success, were looking on the future as their own. The articles being signed and the betrothal made, a regular minister was needed at the court of Blois, and Boleyn, a conspicuous friend of France, was chosen for this post.

CHAPTER III.

CATHARINE'S FRIENDS.

1520–1.

1. ANNE BOLEYN stayed with Claude through the vexatious wrangle for the crown of Max, and through the gaieties of the interview at Ardres. Max died so poor, there was no money in his coffers to defray the cost of his interment; yet before he passed away, he bribed and bought a clear majority of the Electors. Wolsey, after selling his influence both to Charles and François, threw his weight at last into the Austrian scale. François, sorely vexed by his defeat, which he ascribed to Wolsey's falsehood, brought his comedy of the match with Mary to an end. A bitter feeling rankled in his heart; yet, since his rivalry with Charles, now Emperor, was certain to increase with time, he hid the soreness in his blood, and treated the English ambassador and his daughter Anne with great respect. When Henry of Orleans, his second son, was born, François invited Boleyn to stand as proxy for his master at the font. Anne's friend, the brilliant Marguerite de Valois, was chosen godmother to the infant prince.

2. Under the eyes of Claude, and with the benefit of her father's presence, Anne Boleyn was receiving all the grace and polish that a liberal education lends to natural gifts. Claude's court was of a roving turn, for Claude was fond of central France, the country of her youth. Many of her days were spent at Blois, where Renée kept a girlish court, unconscious of the fatal passion she was firing in her dark and handsome cousin, Charles de Bourbon, and awaiting in her maiden innocence the time of her betrothal to the Austrian prince. The Dauphin's nursery was at Blois. François, a hunter from his cradle, chose the lonelier Amboise, in Tourraine, a chateau nestling on a rock, swept by a rapid river, and surrounded by abundant woods. A train of artists followed him from Italy, in whose society he sought a refuge from the cares of state, and the endearments of his homely wife. A dream in stone was floating in his head, soon afterwards to be smitten into fact at Chenonceux. A dauphin having come to pacify his heart, he could afford to hunt and build, to jest and rhyme. As Henry crowed about his girl, François crowed still louder for his boy. 'My good brother of England,' laughed the merry sovereign, 'has no son, because, although a young and handsome man, he keeps an old and ugly wife.'

3. Anne heard at Blois no other language of the English Queen than she had heard at Howard House. To François and his family, Catharine was an enemy, seated on the English throne to do

them harm. That they should look on her position as unsafe, was natural. Amboise had held the papal bull to be unsound in law; and if that bull were insufficient, Catharine was a concubine and not a legal wife. How far this argument would run, the French were in no hurry to inquire. That, if the Queen were not a lawful wife, Mary was not a lawful heiress, was an inference too obvious to be pressed. A time might come when both these questions must be met; but François, having no intention to observe his treaties had nothing to attain by premature discussion of such points.

4. When a meeting of the two sovereigns was proposed, Catharine set her face against the project as a menace to her nephew. 'Is not the Queen's grace,' Louise of Savoy asked the minister, 'aunt to the King of Spain?' Feeling the sarcasm lurking in her words, Boleyn replied, 'Madame, he is her sister's son; yet the King of England loves your son better than any other prince.' Louise was fond of jesting at Catharine. 'Do you think the Queen's grace has any liking for this interview?' she asked Wingfield with an innocent air. 'The Queen, my mistress,' he rejoined, 'is a good and wise woman, who will conform herself to the King's pleasure.' Catharine was running to a dangerous length in opposition to the King. Watching the King go out of doors, she called a council of her friends, and was haranguing them in high and passionate words when Henry stalked into the room.

What were the lords debating? Catharine answered that she had convened these lords to show them reasons for not going to meet the King of France. At Ardres, her friends were surly, and the Duke of Buckingham behaved so rudely that in spite of his high rank he was excluded from the public jousts. 'That man,' said François to Louise, 'will die a traitor's death.'

5. This prophecy was soon fulfilled. No man in England had so many enemies as Buckingham. His pride, his avarice, his discourtesy, had given offence in every circle. His haughty temper had not spared the Cardinal of York. His avarice had not spared the hedger near his palace. His discourtesy had not spared the royal councillors. The Gloucester peasants complained of him with special bitterness of speech, but every shire in which he held estates had been disturbed by his imperious rule. He was the last great landlord who affected to maintain his labourers as serfs and bondmen. In Wales, he owned the territories of a prince. In Kent, in Bucks, in Gloucester, no man had such seats as he. Stafford was his. Kimbolton, Tunbridge, Thornbury, and Penshurst, were but specimens of his dwellings. Manors and lodges without number lay around these princely piles. The Duke had grown too high to stand, and, like an Eastern satrap, he was toppling at a master's nod. But Wolsey told the French ambassador that Buckingham was arrested as a friend of Spain.

6. All legal forms were carefully observed. A special commission was appointed to investigate his crimes. A regular court was opened at Guildhall, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. Five judges sat on the commission. Indictments were laid in five counties, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Somerset, and Gloucester. Judges and councillors, men of character, familiar with the rules of evidence, occupied the bench. Juries were called from the ranks of the local gentry. Some of these jurymen were privy councillors, many were magistrates, all were persons of property and education. Nothing could be fairer, in appearance, than the choice of Buckingham's judges. Evidence of his guilt, too comic for a comedy, was laid before these gentlemen, and every shire sent up a finding for the crown. It was a form, and nothing but a form. The jurors knew that Buckingham's offence was not recited in the pleas, but they were bound to find the spurious accusations true, on penalty of a lodging in the Tower.

7. A court of peers was named to try the prisoner. Norfolk sat as Lord High Steward. Shrewsbury, though his kinsman, was compelled to sit. Dorset, Kent, and Derby, were his personal friends. Men so eminent for learning as Montjoy and Willoughby sat beside these peers. The same ridiculous evidence was laid before them. 'It is false and untrue; it is conspired and forged,' cried Buckingham. The peers began to whisper. 'Speak out, my lords,' said Buck-

ingham; 'it is the King's will that I should die. I am content to die, though not for the crimes alleged; all which are manifestly false.' The prisoner and his judges felt it was a mere judicial form; as every public trial was a mere judicial form. It was the master's will that he should die. 'What say you, my Lord of Suffolk?' asked the presiding Duke. 'I say that he is guilty,' answered Suffolk, laying his hand against his heart. So said every peer in turn. What could they say when Cæsar bade them find him guilty? Were they to argue with a master who might waste them in his fiery breath? When they were afterwards reading the bill of attainder in the upper house, a bill of subsidy was passing through the lower house. Some burgesses delayed this bill: on which the master sent for Montagu, one of the leading members, to his closet. Montagu knelt. 'Ho! man,' cried Henry, 'they will not suffer my bill to pass? Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else this head of yours shall be off!' Next day his bill was passed. With like avidity, peers, councillors, and judges swept away the foremost partizan of their Queen.

CHAPTER IV.

RECALLED FROM FRANCE.

1521.

1. ANNE BOLEYN'S father, with all her kinsfolk and connexions, had been forward in this fight. The battle had commenced when Anne was eight years old, and in the outset it had gone in favour of the Duke. Buckingham had snatched from her family the coronet of Wiltshire. Buckingham, and the men of his opinions, had prevented her father rising in the public service, and acquiring a position due to his wealth, his talents, and his high connexions. Yet Boleyn had been fighting Buckingham on public rather than on personal grounds; seeing in him an unwise, and even a dangerous councillor of the crown. Boleyn served on the special commission. Brydges, father of Winifred, his nephew Sackville's wife, opened the inquiry at Guildhall. Wyat served on the Surrey panel. Brooke was one of the committing magistrates. Cobham was a member of the court of peers. Norfolk, as Lord High Steward, presided at the trial, and pronounced the culprit's doom.

2. The Cardinal made a cunning distribution of his spoil. Compton and Marney, as the nearest comrades of the King, were satisfied. Then came Essex and Grey, Dorset and Worcester, each of whom got parks and manors. Afterwards came Boleyn, who received as his reward the manor of Fobbing, in Essex, with various offices in the town of Tunbridge, in the manors of Brasted and Penshurst, and in the parks of Penshurst, Northleigh, and Northlands. Norfolk had his share, and Devon had his share. Wingfield got Kimbolton Castle. Norreys got the manors of Southo, Hunts, and Tylbroke. One principle adopted by the Cardinal in disposing of these ducal spoils was to associate father and son in the original grant, so that a permanent party would be ready to resist attempts to reverse the Duke's attainder at a future time. Thus Norfolk's son and Devon's son were parties to the grants by which these noblemen were rewarded. George Boleyn was associated with his father in the several offices connected with the lands in Kent. The ducal house of Stafford was so thoroughly despoiled, that it was deemed an act of charity to make a small provision for the Duchess and her son. Yet, if the strawberry-leaves were gone, the high connexions of their family remained. The Poles and Nevilles, Percies and Plantagenets, were more or less involved in their disgrace. A daughter of their house was married to the heir of Norfolk, and a grandson of the murdered duke might one day rule

at Howard House. How scornfully these Poles and Nevilles, Staffords and Plantagenets, looked at men like the new keeper of Penshurst Park, and the new lord of Southo Manor, no one needs to say!

3. Bitter blood was made for Boleyn and Norreys by these acts; but in the hour of triumph no man stops to count the consequences of his victories. Montagu and Abergavenny were thrown into the Tower with Buckingham. Montagu was the eldest son of Sir Richard Pole and Margaret of Salisbury. His connexion with Buckingham was close; his sister Ursula being married to the Duke's eldest son. Abergavenny was the Duke's son-in-law, having married his youngest daughter, Lady Mary. Orders were given to seize Wiltshire, the Duke's brother; Northumberland, the Duchess's brother; and Margaret of Salisbury, her son's mother-in-law. But Wolsey, having read the peers a lesson, had no wish to drive them into actual war. No fresh arrests were made. Northumberland placed his son, the dashing Percy, as a sort of hostage, in the Cardinal's house, where he was soon to meet the young lady whom that Cardinal was calling out of France.

4. Red Piers, 'Mairgread Geroit,' and their son James, had come to London, where Piers persuaded Henry and his Council that the Geraldines were faithless to his cause. Kildare being called from Dublin, 'Mairgread' had the elfish joy of hearing her brother ordered into custody. O'Carrol and O'Brien broke into disorder, on which Piers asserted

that Kildare had sent a priest to stir them up. The King deprived Kildare of the deputy's seat; and offered the lieutenancy to Surrey, as a hard, rapacious soldier, who would fight his way from Dublin to Donegal through fiercer spirits than any 'Mairgread Geroit' could invoke. Surrey took Piers with him to Ireland, leaving James in London as a hostage, where he might be near his cousin Anne, when she came home from France. Surrey winked at Piers' illegal style; a rough admission that the Brehon law still reigned within the English Pale. 'Mairgread' seemed to exercise a spell on Surrey, who not only recommended Wolsey to appoint 'Sir Piers' Lord-Treasurer, but begged the King to reconcile the Ormond litigants, and promote a match between his niece, Anne Boleyn, and James Butler, the eldest son of Piers.

5. The King was but too glad to strengthen his position on such easy terms. Anne being the daughter of an officer in his household, he had a customary right in the disposal of her hand; but he had recently strained this customary right in connexion with her sister, and was anxious not to wound a faithful servant and a powerful house a second time. William Carey, one of the gentlemen of his chamber, courted Mary Boleyn; but the younger brother of Sir John Carey of Plashey, though a man of ancient lineage, was rejected by the family as no proper mate for a grandchild of the Great Duke. Mary had given her hand to Carey in a private marriage; yet though

Henry graced the rite, and made an offering in the church, much anger was provoked, and neither Carey nor his wife was reconciled to the family chiefs. This passage made the King more cautious. Anne was of marriageable age. Yet Henry could not ask the Boleyns to receive proposals for her hand till he had full authority from Sir Piers to act. Surrey was asked to see the Earl of Ormond (Henry giving him the title he had seized), and learn from him, in a more formal manner, whether he desired to have Anne Boleyn for his son? If so, the King proposed to take that matter on himself as one of service to his crown.

6. Surrey spoke to Piers, and also to the Irish Council. Every one in Dublin, he informed the Cardinal, desired to see a match between Anne Boleyn and James Butler. James, the Irish heir, would have the title, and should have as much of the estate as Lady Margaret might be willing to resign. The Irish Council, he reported, had considered all the ins and outs of the affair. James was in England, as a hostage for his father and the Butler sept; a youth, as loud of tongue and quick of hand as either 'Mairgread' or Sir Piers. It would be well to tame him with an English wife. Void of all feeling for his niece, Surrey would strengthen his connexion in the Pale by any sacrifice of her future life. Reminding Wolsey of their former talk, he said: 'At our being with your Grace, divers of us moved you to cause a marriage to be

solemnised between the Earl of Ormond's son, being with your Grace, and Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter; we think if your Grace caused that to be done, and also a final end to be made between them for the title of lands depending in variance, it should cause the said Earl to be better willed to see this land brought to good order.' Wolsey approved his scheme. The youth, he said, was 'active and discreet,' and Surrey's plans for making peace in Dublin gave him an excuse for keeping James Butler in his sight.

7. Some sort of instrument was drawn by Wolsey's orders, as a form of contract for a union of Anne with James. But obstacles were raised. Lady Margaret hated Piers. Boleyn disliked this sale of his daughter by a brother-in-law whom he had no good cause to like. And there was Anne herself! Month after month slipt by, and Anne remained in France with Claude. Red Piers became impatient for results; for he was looking to enjoy the deputy's chair in consequence of this connexion. Wolsey was abroad; and Henry wrote to him that something must be done. 'On my return,' said Wolsey, in reply, 'I will talk with you how to bring about this marriage.' Wolsey was full of wiles and schemes, and felt no doubt of his success. Boleyn was at Oudenarde, carrying on a secret correspondence with the Emperor's agents. Charles was opening his campaign against the French, and Wolsey was again an object of in-

trigue in every camp in Europe. Suddenly the Cardinal faced about. Choosing the side of Spain, he entered into that false Treaty of Bruges, by which Charles was to marry Princess Mary, and England was to enter on engagements hostile to the French. Before the news of his decision reached the Court of Paris, Anne Boleyn was recalled from France.

CHAPTER V.

TWENTY-ONE.

1521–22.

1. At twenty-one, Anne Boleyn, in obedience to a royal order, came to England; leaving good Queen Claude and pious Madame Renée to regret her loss on personal grounds, while François raised his voice against her going on political grounds. 'I think it very strange,' said François, 'that this treaty of Bruges should have been concealed from me . . . . and that M. Boleyn's daughter should have been carried home.' Her lithesome form, her sparkling eyes, her fawnlike ways, were long remembered in the Court of Blois, and fired prosaic almoners into song and rhyme.

2. From her cradle upwards, Anne had been a bright and elfin child. Her mother was a reigning beauty in two royal circles, but the Howards were a Saxon race, with light blue eyes, fair flesh, and rounded figures. Anne was of another type. No English roses reddened on her cheek; no English plumpness smoothed her bust; no English languor brooded in her eyes. These eyes were quick with southern light.

'The lively sparks that issue from those eyes'

were sung by her poetic champion, Wyat, as—

'Sunbeams to daze man's sight.'

Her mouth was wide, her bosom low and flat. A body, somewhat thin and wiry, was surmounted by an oval face, of an Italian surface, and by locks of auburn gold. Although her neck was long and marked by moles, she wore her head with such exceeding grace that people only felt the charm. Freckles were visible on her skin. Her hands were finely moulded; yet with one remarkable defect. A boss and second nail appeared on one of her fingers, which allowed her enemies to say she had six fingers; a defect of nature which destroyed the symmetry of an otherwise perfect pair of hands.

3. No eye in search of physical beauty would have rested for a moment on that face and form. No artist called this damsel beautiful; nor could her laureate, when he sang her praises, venture to go beyond her brilliant eyes. All other points were left in mist. The poet named her goodly face, and spoke in general terms about her 'beauty,' as a bard was bound to do; but he affected no rapture of the sense. He was content to sing of—

'The bright beams of those fair eyes.'

What a poet, in the license of adoring verse, could say for her, was said by Wyat, in his picture of Such a one as he could love,—

A face that should content me wondrous well,
Should not be fair, but lovely to behold;
With gladsome chere, all grief for to expell;
With sober looks—so would I that it should
Speak without words such words as none can tell;
The tress also should be of crisped gold.
With wit, and these, might chance I might be tied,
And knit again the knot that should not slide.'

'She was taken at that time,' says the younger Wyat, 'to have a beauty, not so whitely, as clear and fresh; which appeared much more excellent by her favour, passing sweet and cheerful.' Such was the image of Anne Boleyn stamped on all the Wyat family. To have called her ugly, would have been unfair; to have painted her, like Sanders, as deformed in body, would have been absurd; yet such a foe as Chapuys might have thought himself honestly free to speak of her as lank and plain.

4. Anne's charms were of the mind. Lady Wyat, in describing her to George, the poet's grandson, said the Queen's 'graces' were those of nature, 'graced still more by gracious education.' Boleyn, a reader and a student as well as a financier and ambassador, had trained his child, not only to the contemplation of a holy life, but an acquaintance with the liberal arts. Since Lady Elizabeth's death, she had been living in a liberal court, under the immediate eyes of Claude and Renée, two of the best-educated women in the world.

5. At Blois and Paris she had lived in the society of poets, painters, scholars, and divines: of Clement

Marot, who was six years older than herself: of Leonardo da Vinci, who had followed François to the Loire: of Guillaume Budé, then librarian to the King and Queen: of all the brilliant wits and writers whom François drew to the most liberal court in Europe. Nature and events made the reigning family friends of that new learning, which was pushed in all the colleges of France, as something popular and patriotic. Laughing at the clerical grey-beards of the Sorbonne, with their antique rules and forms, François established his new College de France; an institute that was to give his country her most eminent lawyers, thinkers, and divines. Anne Boleyn had been trained among these liberal men, and in their liberal school. The girl was widely read. Her French was perfect, and her English of a style which few, except the poets, either spoke or wrote.

6. And yet the best of Anne's good gifts were those of nature, not of art: the wine and harvest of her Celtic blood. An ordinary girl in Catharine's court could sing and broider, play the virginals, and converse in French; but Anne, besides these feminine arts, had wit and fancy, warmth and taste, knowledge and thought, beyond the reach of ordinary girls.

> 'Under sun yet never was her peer,
> Of wisdom, womanhood, and discretion,'

sang her laureate. A blending of these several

qualities made her charm. Anne was a poetess no less than a musician. Flat bust, long neck, stain, patch, and second nail, were all forgotten in a moment when the girl, so sage, and yet so elfish, smiled and spoke.

7. The pulse of life beat strongly in her veins. No pain surprised the gladness in her eyes. Her spirits never flagged, her brightness never faded, her invention never failed. The soul of every circle into which she came, she made, without an effort of her own, a friend of every generous woman, and a knight of every noble man. That yearning for a holy life which she had felt at Hever, and had set before her fancy as the prize of filial love, had touched her animal spirits with an ideal grace. Her eyes were always lit with fire; her lips were always curved with mirth. An air of mischief hovered on her brow; yet under this bewitching Irish manner lay a deep and tender sense of things unseen. Now playful, now sedate, she could be everything in turn. If Renée loved her for the beauty of her ways, Marguerite de Valois found in her a kindred thinker. Neither Catharine, nor the ladies of her closet, could resist the charm of Anne. In her society, the day was never dull, and in the sparkle of her talk the old of heart felt young and fresh.

CHAPTER VI.

HEVER CASTLE.

1523.

1. HEVER was poetic and retired. Her chamber window, a projecting oriel, opened on a moat and garden; down to which a private stair gave access by an ancient tower. Beyond the moat and garden lay an orchard and a bowling-green. Not many paces off the river Eden brawled and chafed among the stones. Grass-land and wood-land stretched on every side; here swelling into mound and ridge, there dropping into flat and marsh. A quaint old church, in which the ashes of her brother lay, stood on the nearest ridge, and was the only building seen from Anne's window. Woods of oak encompassed her about, with only here and there a break in sunny patch and leafless hill. Some rare and famous nooks lay screened amidst these depths of wood. Seven miles north stood Knole, where Warham dwelt among his books and papers. Seven miles east rose Tunbridge, where Buckingham used to keep his state. Nearer still lay Penshurst Park, of which her father was the ranger. To the south, beyond the level grounds, rose Ashdown Forest. In and out among

these woodlands, becks and rivulets sang their pilgrimage towards the sea. Sweet-briars grew in every hedge, and linnets built in every copse. The pools were rich with lilies, and the air, though laden with the scent of many herbs, was freshened by the salt of neighbouring seas.

2. The pile was square in form and built of light grey stone. A gateway, flanked by towers, opposed the entrance of a foe, who, unlike Cupid, had to enter by the door. One pathway only led into this bower; a pathway barred by triple gates; each gate being built of oak and bound by clamps. Within these gates were guard-rooms for the halberdiers, with slits for those who threw out burning pitch and poured down molten lead. A courtyard occupied the inner space; round which the castellated walls and chambers rose. Pleasant and quaint her castle was within. Above her room, and that of her brother George, a gallery ran from end to end; a gallery with mullion windows, oaken panels, and a fretted roof. This gallery was the hall of state.

3. Her family was large and scattered over many shires. She had no mother to direct her steps, but in a mother's stead she had a stepmother, a grandmother, a step-grandmother, and a host of aunts on both her father's and her mother's sides. Anne's family connexions threw themselves into three primary groups; first the Boleyns; then the Butlers; afterwards the Howards; each of which might be divided into two or three separate sets.

4. First of all came her father, her father's second wife, her sister Mary, her sister Mary's husband, and her brother George. After her mother's death, Boleyn, like a man fatigued with the ascending greatness of his family, had made a match of the affections; giving his hand and fortune to a second Elizabeth, but one of humble birth and loving nature, whom Anne regarded as her 'own mother.' Boleyn was in Spain, negotiating with the Emperor, and Henry in his absence was creating him a baron of the realm. A garter waited his return. Mary was married to Carey, an esquire of the King's body, and was still in some disgrace with all her family, as a woman who had thrown herself away. George, her brother, was a quick and handsome boy, a wit, a scholar, and the darling of his sister's heart. While yet a child he had been introduced at court by a mother proud of his beauty and his talents, and had played his little part in masque and mummery. Like his father and his sister, George had taken to the liberal learning of his day, and in his Oxford course had won by his abilities a noted place. Early in life he had begun to toy with verse, the fine accomplishment of a liberal age, and by his talents he was helping that revival of English poetry which his playmate Wyat and his cousin Surrey were to foster into vigorous life.

5. Next came her father's brothers and sisters, with their several wives and husbands. William, her eldest uncle, was a priest, a man of homely

talents, who never rose beyond the occupancy of a prebendary stall. Sir James, her second uncle, lived at Blickling Park, a man of busy brain, and jealous of her father as the eldest born. Edward, her youngest uncle, was a country gentleman, living on his Norfolk property and holding up his head extremely high. One of her aunts was married to Sir John Shelton, a second to Sir Thomas Bryan, and a third to Sir John Sackville. Anne's cousin, Sir Richard Sackville, of Buckhurst, was the father of Thomas Sackville the poet.

6. Next came the Irish grandmother, Lady Margaret, and her Kilkenny kith and kin; her far-off uncle Piers, and her unwelcome suitor James. A tough and hectic creature, filled with a sense of wrong, Lady Margaret was eager for revenge on Piers the Red. Piers still kept the title he had seized; but suit and counter-suit were running in the Irish courts. Lord Boleyn appealed to his grant of livery under the great seal of England; Piers replied by reference to his Brehon law and to the customs of an Irish sept. Wolsey was watching them with curious eye; not caring whether Boleyn won or lost his suit; but anxious to depress Kildare, and bent on marrying Anne to James if such an act seemed likely to achieve his ends.

7. In the group of Howards, stood her mother's father, the Great Duke; her mother's brethren, Thomas and Edmund, and their several wives. Lady Muriel, her aunt, was gone. 'Lady Lisle,' her cousin,

had now married Henry Courtney, nineteenth Earl of Devon, the King's first cousin of the royal blood. Norfolk was seventy-eight years old; a wonder in an age when men were counted old at forty-five. But he was sinking towards his rest; his duty to his sovereign and his country done. The voices of his children ruled in Howard House and Kenninghall. Her uncle Surrey's union with Elizabeth Stafford had been blessed in a fine boy; that cousin Henry, who in after ages was to share with Wyat the imperial crown of English song. Lord Edmond, her younger uncle, was married to Joyce Lady Lee, a widow, who was bringing him a brood of little ones; among them that cousin Kate, who was to succeed her in the perilous post of Henry's queen and wife.

8. Except in giving birth to that fair boy who was to gild the name of Surrey with poetic gold, nothing but misery had come to any one from Surrey's union with Elizabeth Stafford. Neville, her youthful lover, had consoled his heart with Lady Catharine; but Elizabeth, a fretful and imperious creature, was unable to endure the man who in his lust of pelf had torn her from a lover's arms. Her mother, Elinor, had lived in doubtful happiness with the Duke, her father; but the brawls at Thornbury had been nothing to the strife at Tendring Hall. The Countess closed her husband's doors against her husband's kin. She left his house. She drove him by her temper from the roof under which his child-

ren slept. Yet she contrived, with the perverted genius of a young and lively woman, to withdraw him from his ancient friends, and even the connexions of his blood. Except his father, whom she could not easily exclude, few members of his family were seen at Tendring Hall. Dorset and Kent, Fitzwater and Arundel, were asked. No Boleyn ever figured in her list of guests.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WYATS.

1523.

1. On Anne's return from France she had been named to a position in the Wardrobe, and had fallen naturally into the circle of the Howards and the Wyats. Nothing in her face and form was likely to attract much notice from the King, who saw in her no more than the rather plain woman of Celtic air and pallid skin whom he had long been trying to unite with the son of Piers the Red. Her qualities were of a kind that hardly take the eye. Her wit and mirth, her depth of feeling, and her joyousness of heart, required a nearer knowledge to perceive. A poet might have felt her value at a glance, and he who was to be the prince of poets in his age and country, took her before a host of lovelier women as the inspiration of his song.

2. From childhood Anne had known the Wyat family. Their home was Allington, an ancient manor on the Medway, near Boxley Abbey, one of the most popular shrines in Kent; the chapel in this abbey having a Rood of Grace, in front of

which a crowd of pilgrims daily knelt, and as well as a test of chastity to which suspected wives and maids were brought to purge their fame. Boleyn and Wyat had for many years been close and steadfast friends; men of the same mind and nature; sage and seeking men, who read the Scriptures as they read the classics. 'They that knew him,' said Wyat, speaking of his father, 'noted him thus,—first and chiefly, to have a great reverence for God and godly things; next, that there was no man more pitiful, no man more true of his word, no man faster to his friend.' Boleyn and the elder Wyat were connected in important public duties. They were both commissioners for Kent. They held, conjointly, the commandership of Norwich Castle, where they lived beneath a common roof, and saw their children playing in the same court-yard. Wyat and his wife were noticeable folk.

3. The Wyats were a Yorkshire family, who had lived on their paternal acres in obscurity till Henry Wyat rode into the south in search of fortune. A man of many trades—a soldier, a financier, an administrator—he had proved his great capacity in many fields. A Lancastrian, he had risen and fallen with the fortunes of his chiefs; one day an officer of state, next day a prisoner in the Tower. In Richard's time he had been a prisoner in that Tower which was in after days to hold his more eminent son, and more unfortunate grandson. Richard, knowing his worth, had been to see him in his cell, and by an

offer of freedom and preferment had tried to bring him over to his side. 'Wyat,' the King had said, 'why art thou such a fool? Thou servest for moonshine in water. Thy master is a beggarly fugitive. Forsake him and become mine. Cannot I reward thee? Yea; and I swear unto thee I will.' Wyat had replied with dignity, 'If I had first chosen you for my master, then faithful would I have been to you if you should have needed it; but the Earl, poor and unhappy though he be, is my master, and no discouragement, no allurement, shall ever drive me from him—by God's grace.'

4. Failing to tempt his captive by these offers of preferment, Richard had tried to nip him with cold and pinch him with hunger. Fire had been denied to him. His food had been reduced in quantity. When the prisoner had been drooping to his end, the extraordinary event occurred which afterwards became the legend of his house. A cat was noticed by the captive clinging to the grating of his window. Looking at it well, he saw a dove struggling in the cat's mouth, which she at once dropt into his hand. The warder coming in, Wyat inquired if he would roast him a dove? 'A dove!' cried the warder, who regarded Wyat as a magician, 'where will you get the dove?' Wyat repeated, in the tone of a superior being, 'Will you roast the dove if I provide one?' 'Humph,' the warder answered, 'if you find the dove, I'll roast him for you.' On the following day that cat appeared again, a dove in

her mouth; and more in terror than in pity, the superstitious warder kept his word. Thus, day by day, the prisoner's life had been prolonged until the fortunes of the house of York had waned. Henry had made all haste to free his faithful follower, to reward his services, to honour him with knighthood, to employ his talents, and to swear him of his Privy Council.

5. Anne, Lady Wyat, daughter of John Skinner, of Reigate, was a woman no less notable than her lord. A wise and learned lady, loving her books and flowers, her children and her household duties, better than the masques and revels of a court, she stayed at Allington with her youngsters, while her husband was engaged in public business at the jewel-house and council-board. One day she heard from a domestic, that the Abbot of Boxley, a Cistercian monk, who ruled his brethren in the neighbouring pile, was in the habit of coming privily to her house. Why should this holy man steal privily to her gate? The morals of these monks were frail in texture, and the holy man was said to come in search of one of Lady Wyat's abigails. Her matron virtue took alarm. What would the pious pilgrims think if the monk who kept the Rood of Grace, and showed the test of chastity, were known to do such things? She set her servants on the watch, and when the Abbot came again, they had their orders and obeyed them. Seizing the reverend sinner by the neck, they thrust him through the

gate, tripped up his heels, and, deaf to all his cries and menaces, chained him in the public stocks. Indignant at this insult to his cloth, the Abbot rode to London and demanded justice from the King. Henry was tender to the Church. An outrage on the person of an Abbot could not be dismissed in silence, and the King, afraid lest the example might be followed in other places, asked his Council to inquire into the truth.

6. Sir Henry, called to answer for his wife, contrived, with much dexterity of wit, to turn the thing into a jest. 'My lords,' he said, with humorous gravity, 'the charge is true; my wife is mistress of her house; and if any of your lordships were to vex her, as this Abbot hath done, I verily believe she would put you also in the stocks.' What could the Council say, except advise the Abbot to hold his tongue? Warham paid a visit to the abbey, where he found too many proofs of riotous living. On the Abbot promising to mend his ways, to 'live precisely,' and to get his abbey out of debt, the primate overlooked his fault; 'else,' said Warham, 'he should not live much longer to the hurt of so holy a place, where so many miracles be showed.' In future, he left Lady Wyat's abigails alone.

7. Sir Henry had three children, Thomas, Margaret, and Henry. Thomas was the elder son; and since the name was new to the Wyat family, it is likely that Sir Thomas Boleyn was the poet's godfather as well as neighbour and namesake. This lad

was worthy of his parents; bright of eye and keen of wit; the handsomest and bravest youth in Kent. Before he went to school he kept a lion's whelp and an Irish greyhound in a kennel, making them his usual playmates in the yard. When he rode out, the whelp and hound lay down beside the gate till he came back, when they would rush to greet him with ungovernable leaps and yells. In time, the lion's whelp grew strong and fierce, and one day flying at his master's shoulder would have torn him to the bone had not the greyhound pulled him off; on which the boy whipt out his sword and thrust it in the lion's throat. At twelve, he went to Cambridge, where he entered St. John's College, a few weeks after his playmate Anne had gone to France. At fifteen he was Bachelor of Arts, at seventeen Master of Arts. A round of travel into France and Italy completed his education. In Paris it is likely that he saw his childish idol, and in Italy he learnt from Petrarch to adopt a model of ideal excellence, and worship this ideal model with platonic passion in immortal verse.

CHAPTER VIII.

PLATONIC LOVE.

1523.

1. WYAT the poet married a good and loyal girl, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Thomas Brooke, Lord Cobham, one of his Kentish neighbours. Cobham was great-grandson of Sir John Oldcastle, the 'Good Lord Cobham.' Wyat and his wife were both at court when Anne came home from Paris. Margaret, the poet's sister, married Sir Antony Lee, of Quordon, in Bucks. A friendly group was formed; the children, now grown up and partly fixed in life, returning to the habits of their earlier days The poet's wife and sister were the nearest friends of Anne; and Wyat, in his yearning for the laurels of an English Petrarch, chose his old companion Anna, as the subject of his muse.

2. Old English and Italian poets had already set that fashion of adopting an ideal Love, which gave to literature the tribe of Lauras, Leonoras, Annas, Geraldines, and Stellas. Rising in crusading times, when high and distant things were objects of desire, this fashion was renewed with a crusading prince.

Geoffrey Rudel, a minstrel in the court of Lion Heart, had fallen in love with the Countess of Tripoli, whom he sang in radiant lines, yet never saw until the moment of his death. Bertrand de Born had hymned the virtues and accomplishments of Elinor Plantagenet. Dante had given a higher reach to these poetic flatteries, and crowned his Beatrice with an immortal wreath of verse. Petrarch had followed Dante, with a closer clinging to the minstrel's part. In hope of raising a new crop of poetry in English soil, Wyat resolved to have a Laura of his own, whose grace and virtue he could celebrate in English rhyme. In choosing his poetic Love, a poet had to look at many points. The object of his passion must be high in birth and pure in life—as good in heart as she was soft in speech—and more than all, she must be unattainable as a star in heaven. All these conditions met for the young English poet in his playmate Anne.

3. Besides being good and bright, gentle and loving, Anne stood for him beyond the reach of any passion not of the platonic kind. She was his wife's near friend, his sister's nearer friend. Her brother George was his disciple in the minstrel's art. Her father was his namesake, if not his godfather; and the two families were knit together in the closest bonds of love. The name of Anna tickled his conceit.

'What word is that, that changeth not,
Though it be turn'd and made in twain?
It is mine Anna, God it wot;
The only causer of my pain;

My love that meeteth with disdain.
Yet is it loved; what will ye more?
It is my salve, and eke my sore.'

The course of this platonic wooing was in public; Wyat being a poet of repute from early years; so that Anna Boleyn soon became a heroine to men and maids. The strain and style, the fashion and the fame, were new in English ears; yet every line addressed by Wyat to his Love was such as minstrel might have written to a female saint. His theme was love; his idol an embodiment of love; yet the platonic fury was so nicely tamed, that nothing came from him unfit for maiden eyes to read.

4. The fuel of romantic passion is a rival; for a court of Love requires to have one suitor of more earthly mould. Not long had Wyat's muse to wait. Such inspiration as may lie in jealousy was soon supplied. While Anna's Irish cousin, James, Lord Butler, was pestering her with an unwelcome suit, a palmer in the shape of Henry, Lord Percy, brought to her the offering of his love.

5. An air of romance clung about this Border chief, in whom his ancestor Hotspur seemed to live again. A man of thirty-five, handsome and tall, he looked the soldier from his bonnet to his spur. Percy had seen but little of the court; his father having wished him to marry ere he entered that great world in which, from his position, he must play a leading part. Putting their heads together, Shrewsbury

and Northumberland had made a match between their children; settling between them in a secret compact that Lord Percy and Lady Mary Talbot should be man and wife. Northumberland was rich, and Shrewsbury, always mean in what concerned his pocket, wished to get his daughter off his hands, without having to pay the portion usual with a lady of her birth. Shrewsbury had been acting as Lieutenant-General in the North, and Northumberland was ready to secure a friend at court, where he was one of the suspected peers. But Percy rose against this bargaining for his heart. Northumberland was hot, but Percy was as stiff as he. Time, as Percy knew, would bring the liberty for which he made his stand. And so the time had sped till he became a hostage in the Cardinal's house.

6. Lord Percy's name had so much influence in the Border, that the Government was obliged to name him warden of the Eastern March and Middle March. No one but he could quell the lawless spirits of the Tay and Tweed. While prudence kept him at York Place, Surrey, who had taken Shrewsbury's place, was anxious to see him in the north, where his appearance would have done the King's affairs much good. Surrey had to tell the Border men that Percy was their warden, and that Dacre was no more than Percy's deputy, while he was moving heaven and earth, to have Lord Dacre, as his partizan, appointed to succeed him in his own

command. Percy, he had to say, would soon come back, and every man who had to deal with Scotch and Border politics would have gladly seen him in the English camp.

7. In Wolsey's house, Anne Boleyn's name was a familiar word; the Cardinal's plan of forcing her to marry James, Lord Butler, being no secret. The position of a young lady, who dared to stand against the great minister, was one to kindle curiosity in Percy's heart. Percy had a friend in John Melton, of Aston, county York, a gentleman living in the Wyat circle, and acquainted with Mistress Anne. Befriended by Melton, Percy had easy access to the maid of honour, whom he found not only gay and winsome, but an object of attention to the greatest wits. Love feeds on rivalry, and Percy fell in love. Anne heard his compliments with a yielding ear; for in his name and person there was much to charm a woman's heart. To blood as high and fame as wide as any in the land, his family added that delight in culture which was common to the Boleyns and the Wyats. Percy yearned for her in spirit, while Anne repaid his worship with a kindness that seemed ripening into love.

8. But in the midst of these poetic and romantic doings, Wolsey rushed into the scene, and finding what the minstrel and the palmer were about, upset their pastorals, and drove them in his wrath to the four winds of heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IRISH SUIT.

1523.

1. SURREY was pressing Wolsey to bestow his niece on James, her Irish cousin, as a means of strengthening the King's friends against the Yorkist Geraldines. Since the war with France broke out, François was negotiating with the Irish chiefs, especially with the Desmond branch of the Fitzgeralds, to whom he made an offer of sending over a new White Rose, in Richard de la Pole. Pole was to come with a sufficient force of ships and troops. Kinsale and other harbours were to be surrendered to the French. Pole was to be crowned in Dublin, and Desmond was to have an Irish kingship in the south.

2. Red Piers, whom Surrey thought a good soldier, swore that no one but himself could keep the Geraldines in check. 'Sir Piers,' said Surrey; 'is not only a wise man, and hath a true English heart, but is the man of most experience in the feats of war. . . . I would the Earl of Desmond were of

like wisdom and order.' Surrey held that the King had only two ways left of dealing with his Irish lands. The country must be either conquered by the sword or governed through the Irish chiefs. The first would take more time and waste more treasure than the council liked to spend; but if they shrank from conquest, they must be content to govern through the Brehon code. Which Irish chief could they select? Surrey recommended Piers. The Geraldines were nearer to the Pale. The Butler country being Kilkenny, sixty miles of bog and mountain cut them off from Dublin; yet the King was forced to try what could be done with Piers as deputy. Kildare was stronger; but he made no secret of his Yorkist sentiments; and when a new White Rose was threatening a descent on Cork, the council dared not place a Yorkist in the deputy's chair.

3. A legal difficulty barred the way. Red Piers had taken to himself the rank of Ormond, and his right to that distinction was disputed by the heir-at-law. Henry, having never sanctioned this assumption, was unwilling to offend his able envoy at the Spanish Court. Yet the condition of affairs induced him to adopt his lieutenant's hint. 'In debating with our Council,' he wrote to Surrey, 'what personage should be most meet to occupy the room of your deputy, we have remembered Sir Piers Butler, pretending himself to be Earl of Ormond, who, as we be informed, as well by your writing, as otherwise, is now reputed for the best amongst other our

obedient subjects of that land.' Surrey arranged the matter with Sir Piers before he left Dublin to undertake the Scottish war. Piers was to be his deputy for a little while. The Irish Council were misled into believing that Surrey would soon return. A patent was drawn up, appointing 'Sir Piers' to the post of Surrey's deputy, but Henry feared to send it over, lest the Irish chieftain should refuse a patent in which his title was denied. What was the King to do? His judges sought a way, but the affair was one of law and not of private grace. Henry might make his deputy Earl of Ormond by a new creation; but Piers was eager to secure the ancient honours of his house; his standing in the country, and his power to serve the crown, depending on his being accepted as the lawful heir of the Kilkenny sept. Yet nothing could be done for him so long as Anne refused his son's proposals; and the patent of lord deputy was at length sent out to Dublin in the name of Sir Piers.

4. Piers was full of promise. He would soon settle with Mac More and other Irish captains. A few days would suffice to calm his own district of Kilkenny. In a week he should track out Desmond in the marshes of Munster, and having put an end to the rebellion, he should return to Dublin ere the Easter Term commenced. With one so swift of foot, so sure of aim, it seemed like pedantry to stand on legal points. Under some such quibble of the lawyers, as that Piers held local rank, and

might be Earl of Ormond in Ireland, while he was no more than Sir Piers Butler in England, he was sworn of the Council and installed in the Deputy's seat.

5. Though Piers had married a Geraldine, the Geraldines refused to treat him as Earl of Ormond, and in spite of 'Mairgread's' spells, his tenants in Kilkenny were persuaded he was not their lawful lord. Kildare was still in London, waiting on the King, to whom his pleasant manners and his Irish humours made him a welcome guest. That he should work against a rival who had crept into his place, was in the natural course of things. While he was in London, he satisfied every one that in spite of his Yorkist opinions he was one of the pleasantest men alive. Even his opinions sat so lightly on his tongue that he would cast them to the winds for a pretty woman's smile. His conduct seemed as airy as a jest, and few imagined that his days were chiefly spent in plots against the Crown. He won the heart of Lady Elizabeth Grey; a match which introduced him to the innermost circles of the English Court. Yet this fine gentleman, who smiled and danced, and wore point-lace in Catharine's closet, was in constant intercourse with Irish monks and spies, who carried his instructions to the Pale. A word being dropt in hut and bawn, a gang of kernes roved up and down the country, wasting the prosperous lands with fire and sword. When news came back to

Westminster, that Ireland was disturbed, Kildare observed with lightsome touch of humour, that those Irish would obey no ruler save a Geraldine.

6. But neither Wolsey nor Surrey was prepared to hand the government of Ireland to this Yorkist chief. Could they not strengthen Piers the Red? His weakness lay in his defects of title and his suits at law. If these defects and suits were once removed, his natural talent, and the King's support, might bear him up. The foremost difficulty lay in reconciling Lady Margaret and her son Lord Boleyn to his assumption of the Ormond title and his occupancy of the Ormond lands. No method seemed so sure to overcome this obstacle as a marriage. If James, 'pretending to be Lord Butler,' were to marry Anne, Lord Boleyn might see his daughter live to be Countess of Ormond, while another peerage, say the barony of Rochford, might be given to him for his son George. If once the youth and maid were man and wife, no question need arise about the Irish lands. Those lands were hardly worth the cost. Some of them had been overrun by the wild Irish for two hundred years past. Kilkenny was a long way off, and royal patents were waste paper in the forests of Mount Brandon and among the marshes of the Barrow and the Suir. A chief like Piers, red-handed, swift of foot, and quick in fight, might have some chance in dealing with the Irish kernes; but how was

an English peer like Boleyn to drive them from their huts and haunts? Boleyn might save much money by arranging his affairs with Piers. A light seemed breaking on the Cardinal, when he learned that Lord Percy was sighing at the feet of Anne.

CHAPTER X.

LORD PERCY.

1523.

1. WOLSEY was aware of Percy's value in the north, where Surrey, striving with the Border clans, was eagerly expecting his return. The Border men were clamouring for their lord, their Harry Percy, in a strain so loud, that Surrey had to tell them he was quickly coming home. But Wolsey was in angry mood. This man, a hostage in his household, was presuming to disturb his plans!

2. Coming into the gallery, where Cavendish and other gentlemen were in attendance, Wolsey sent for Percy, and opened on him all the vials of his wrath. 'I marvel not a little, Percy, of thy peevish folly, that thou would tangle and ensnare thyself with a foolish girl yonder in the court. I mean Anne Boleyn! Dost thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world? For after the death of thy noble father, thou art most like to inherit and possess one of the most worthiest earldoms of this realm. Therefore it had been most meet and convenient for thee to have sued for the

consent of thy father in that behalf; and to have also made the King's Highness privy thereto; requiring therein his princely favour, submitting all thy whole proceeding in all such matters unto his Highness, who would not only accept thankfully your submission, but would, I assure thee, provide so for your purpose therein, that he would advance you much more nobly, and have matched you according to your estate and honour, whereby ye might have grown so by your wisdom and honourable behaviour into the King's high estimation, that it should have been much to your increase of honour. But now behold what ye have done through your wilfulness. Ye have not only offended your natural father, but also your most gracious sovereign lord; and matched yourself with one, such as neither the King, nor yet your father, will be agreeable with the matter. And hereof I put you out of doubt, that I will send for your father; and at his coming, he shall either break with this unadvised contract, or else disinherit thee for ever. The King's Majesty himself will complain to thy father on thee, and require no less at his hand than I have said.'

3. Wolsey explained to Percy, but in dark and general phrases, why the lady he was courting could not be his wife. She was intended for another man. The matter of that other contract, he assured the Border chief, had been long in his hands, and points of public moment hung on his success. It was a thing of state; one in which the King himself was

busy; and his Grace had brought the suit by patient labour almost to an end. Some curious light was probably seen in Percy's eyes; for Wolsey added, that the girl was not aware of all that they were doing for her! 'Yet hath the King,' he said, 'most like a politic and prudent prince, conveyed the matter in such sort, that she, upon the King's motion, will be right glad and agreeable to the same.'

4. Percy stood still; tears trickling down his cheeks for shame. He waited till the Cardinal had done. He was no boy, as Wolsey called him, but a bronzed and bearded soldier, readier with his claymore than his tongue. The gentlemen who served with him, not one of them his match in birth and age, stood by and heard the Cardinal cover him with scorn. At length he spoke in his defence: 'I knew nothing, sir, of the King's pleasure herein, for whose displeasure I am very sorry. I considered that I was of good years, and thought myself sufficient to provide me of a convenient wife wherever my fancy served me best; not doubting but that my lord, my father, would have been right well persuaded. And though she be a simple maid, having but a knight to her father, yet she is descended of right noble parentage. By her mother's side she is nigh of the Norfolk blood, and of her father's side lineally descended of the Earl of Ormond, he being one of the Earl's heirs-general. Why should I then, sir, be anything scrupulous to match with her, whose estate of descent is equivalent with mine, when I shall be

in most dignity? Therefore, I most humbly require your Grace, of your especial favour herein, and also to entreat the King's most royal Majesty most humbly on my behalf for his princely benevolence in this matter; the which I cannot deny or forsake.'

5. Wolsey had rarely heard such words. It was no easy thing to yield, at any man's request, a share in that bright creature's heart. But Wolsey had no feeling for the lover's pain. 'Lo, sirs!' stormed the Cardinal, calling the gentlemen about him to take note of his displeasure; 'ye may see what conformity and wisdom are in this wilful boy's head.' Then turning to the Border chief, he screamed: 'I thought that when thou heardest me declare the King's intended pleasure and travail herein, thou wouldst have relented and wholly submitted thyself, and all thy wilful and unadvised pact, to the King's royal will and prudent pleasure, to be fully disposed and ordered by his Grace's disposition, as his Highness should deem good!' In any other matter, Percy would have bowed his head in silence, since the King could either lodge him in the Tower, like Pole, or murder him by a form of law, like Buckingham. But love is blind to personal risk, and Percy had already dared too much to quail before the Cardinal's frowns.

6. 'Sir,' replied Percy, 'and so I would, but in this matter I have gone so far before so many witnesses, that I know not how to avoid myself nor to discharge my conscience.' Wolsey was fit to burst

with laughter. 'Thinkest thou that the King and I know not what we have to do in as mighty a matter as this? Yes, I warrant thee. Howbeit, I can see in thee no submission to the purpose.' Percy, in the full belief that he had gone too far for any one to divide him from his love, proposed to yield, if only the King and Cardinal engaged to free him from 'the mighty burthen' of his pre-contract. 'Well, then,' said the Cardinal, rising in his anger, 'I will send for your father out of the north parts, and he and we shall take such order for the avoiding of thy hasty folly as shall be by the King thought most expedient.' Ere he strode away, the Cardinal turned once more and warned the lover: 'I charge thee, and, in the King's name, command thee, that thou presume not once to resort into her company, as thou intendest to avoid the King's high indignation!' Saying thus much he passed into his private room.

CHAPTER XI.

LOST LOVE.

1523.

1. In answer to a summons which allowed no question of delay, Northumberland took horse and rode to London, hardly knowing whether his head was on his neck or not. By such a call his brother-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham, had been brought to his account. On that dark day Northumberland narrowly escaped. He, too, was rich. His parks, his castles, and his manors, were the glory of several counties, and his ruin would raise the fortunes of a dozen peers and councillors. Who would not like to be the lord of Alnwick and Petworth, of Wresil and Cockerells? What man could gaze without envy on the magnificence of a peer who kept two hundred and twenty officers and servants, many of them gentlemen of birth and fortune, in a single house? Northumberland belonged to the declining party of the Queen. Like his lost brother-in-law, Buckingham, he had given offence by his opinions; he was known to be an object of suspicion to the King and Cardinal; and once he had been lodged for safety in the Fleet.

2. Arriving in town, he jumped into his barge, pulled for York Place, and, leaving his servants in the boat, crept meekly up to the great Cardinal's door. Wolsey received him in the open gallery, though he had the courtesy to wave his officers apart. These gentlemen could see their master and his visitor, and could almost hear the words they spake. The talk was long and grave, but Wolsey, finding at length that Percy and his father were at variance as to Lady Mary Talbot, seemed to rise into a jocund mood.

3. He told Northumberland that Percy must renounce his claim on Anne. Except this heiress of the Ormonds he was free to marry whom he pleased; but Anne was set apart and given away in order to improve the King's affairs. In his own place, Northumberland was fierce and high—the blood of the old fighting Percies boiling in his veins—but in the Cardinal's hands his strength was gone. How could he argue with a man who spake in Cæsar's name? One word by Wolsey to the guard, and he would be dragged into a barge, and carried to the Tower. Not many months were gone, since Wolsey had slain the foremost subject of the Crown. Where Buckingham had fallen, how, except by prompt submission, could he hope to stand? Northumberland showed nothing of his son's high spirit. He was not in love, and he had tasted of the bitterness of Wolsey's wrath. In no long time it was agreed between them that the lovers were to part. Lord Percy was to join his troop, and see no more

of Anne. But Wolsey wanted more. Percy, a bold and constant man, had proved his metal in such matters. He had spoken of his contract and his conscience; what he meant by contract was not clear; yet something must have passed between these lovers in the way of pledge—some form of words, some plight of love, some vow of faith—which, in their ignorance of canon law, might lead them to regard each other as betrothed. A contract was a ticklish thing, as Wolsey knew, which Anne might plead in order to upset his plan of marrying her to the son of Piers. That contract must be cancelled and effaced.

4. In order to undo the mischief, Percy must be wedded to another woman. By his union with another, Anne would be released. Northumberland made no objection. He had always wanted Percy to marry Lady Mary Talbot, and was glad to have the Cardinal's support in carrying out that scheme. Bowing his head, the thing was done. Then Wolsey, radiant with triumph, called his boy to bring in wine; and those who waited in the gallery saw the greybeards drink a loving cup. 'Attend my lord!' cried Wolsey, and the crowd of gentlemen sidled up and bowed him towards the gallery door.

5. Pausing when he reached the door, Northumberland sat down and called his heir. 'Son!' he said in bitterness of heart, 'thou hast always been a proud, presumptuous, and unthrift waster; and even so hast thou now declared thyself. What joy or solace

should I conceive in thee, that thou, without direction and advisement, hast misused thyself? Having no manner of regard for me, thy natural father; ne in especial unto thy sovereign lord, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful and humble obedience; ne yet to the wealth of thine own estate; but hast so unadvisedly ensured thyself to her, for whom thou hast purchased thee the King's displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustain!' The Earl took breath; his son, abashed and hurt, remaining silent; even in that crowd of pages, knights, and serving-men. Not knowing Anne as Percy knew her, Northumberland made no excuses for his son. He saw no further than the King's displeasure. 'But that his grace,' he added, 'of his mere wisdom, doth consider the lightness of thy head, and the wilful qualities of thy person, his indignation were sufficient to cast me, and all my posterity, into utter subversion and dissolution; but he, being my especial and singular good lord and favourable prince, and my Lord Cardinal, my good lord, doth clearly excuse me in thy lewd fact, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee; to whom both thou and I be more bound than we are well able to consider.' In fear for Percy as his heir, Northumberland became prophetic. 'I pray to God,' he said, the chief still standing silent, 'that this may be to thee a sufficient monition and warning to use thyself more wittier hereafter; for then I assure thee, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality,

thou wilt be the last Earl of our house!' Northumberland could not take the earldom from his son, but he could leave some part of his estate to others, and if Percy would not hearken to his voice, that part should go from him. 'Now, masters and good gentlemen,' he cried to Wolsey's servants, 'it may be your chance hereafter, when I am dead, to see the proofs of these things that I have spoken to my son . . . Yet,' he added softly, for he loved his Hotspur, like a father, 'in the mean season, I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault when he doth amiss.' So saying, he bade the gentlemen adieu. Turning his face to Percy, he sighed, 'Go thy way: attend upon my lord's grace, your master; and see you do your duty:' saying which he passed along the hall and stept into his barge.

6. Percy was not an easy man to force. He wrote to Melton, urging him to stand by him and to befriend him with his love. The Lord Privy Seal to whom he referred was Marney, the King's comrade, lately created Lord Marney, of Leyr Marney, Essex, and appointed to succeed Ruthal as Lord Privy Seal. Marney was a bitter enemy to the Cardinal.

'Mr. Melton: This shall be to advertise you that Mistress Anne is changed from that place she was at when we three were last together. Wherefore, I pray you that you be no devil's sakke; but, according to the truth, ever justify as ye shall make answer

before God; and do not suffer her in my absence to be married to any other man. I must go to my master, wheresoever he be; for the Lord Privy Seal desireth much to speak with me; whom if I should speak with in my master's absence, it would cause me to lose my head; and yet I know myself as true a man to my prince as liveth, whom (as my friends informeth me), the Lord Privy Seal saith, I have offended grievously in my words. No more to you, but to have me commended unto Mistres Anne, and bid her remember her promise; which none can loose but God only; to whom I shall daily, during my life, with my prayer commend.'

7. Yet the Border chief and not the Kentish maiden was the first to yield. The Cardinal forced Lord Percy to accept the hand of Lady Mary. In the way of policy, Lady Mary was a proper consort for a Percy, who would have to reign at Alnwick and Newcastle. Her connexions in the Border lands were strong; her sister, Margaret, being Countess of Cumberland, and her sister Mary, Lady Dacre of Gillesland. Surrey was anxious to promote the match: not more because he wished his niece to marry Butler, than because he saw in Percy's match a means of strengthening the King's party in the Border lands. Fitzjames, the plausible Chief Baron, rode into the north, and gave Northumberland the benefit of his shrewd advice. No promise and no threat was spared. If Percy yielded to the King, a great career lay open to him. Sure of the royal

favour, nothing in the way of public offices could be refused him; and a hint was dropped that on his union with Lady Mary he would be appointed to succeed Surrey in his great command. At length he yielded to his fate.

8. Anne was removed from court by Wolsey's orders, so that Percy might not see her more. Surrey, her uncle, was delighted at the Cardinal's success in marrying Percy to another wife; for now the way seemed made for James, Lord Butler, who might urge his suit without fearing to find a rival in her heart. Aware that her separation from the man she loved was due to Wolsey, Anne, being every inch a woman, made a vow, that if she ever found the means of paying that Cardinal, who made himself so busy in the things which touched her heart, she would repay him in his own hard coin for all the evil he had done.

Book the Eighteenth.

EXILE AND RETURN.

CHAPTER I.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH.

1524.

1. The Court of Love being broken up, lady, lover, and minstrel, were dispersed to the four winds of heaven. Percy, after his marriage, early in the year, was sent to join his company at Alnwick Castle. Anne was lodged at Hever, in her lonely chamber by the moat, until her pride should yield, and she would listen, at the Cardinal's instance, to her Irish suitor. Wyat was sent to Italy on public service. Wolsey appeared to be the master of his game.

2. While Anne was fretting out her heart at Hever, her life, as well as that of Catharine, was being shaped by great events elsewhere. Within a year two Popes had died, and Wolsey was yearning for the Papacy, not only as an object of ambi-

tion, but a port of refuge. Charles, who had been to Windsor and renewed his false contract with his cousin Mary, promised him the votes of all his Austrian, Netherland, and Spanish cardinals; but Juan Manuel, now imperial manager in Rome, was taking care that Wolsey's name should not turn up. When Leo died, Manuel garrisoned his palace with imperial troops, and going to each cardinal in turn, attended by his guards, told him how his master wanted him to vote. After many days of balloting, the cardinals had chosen Adrian Florent, a Flemish monk, who took his seat as Emperor's chaplain and as Adrian the Sixth. When Adrian died, Wolsey reminded Charles of promises made to him at Bruges and Windsor, which were afterwards renewed by Charles's ministers—whenever Charles was seeking for the Cardinal's support. But Charles betrayed him, in his usual style; writing a letter to his minister in Rome, recommending him to urge the choice of Wolsey, but ordering his messengers to be detained at Barcelona till the election in Rome was over, and another pontiff was installed!

3. On many grounds the King was anxious to be well with Rome, but chiefly for his daughter's sake. To Rome he looked for the protection of that daughter's rights. No matter who was pope, Henry was forward with his money, his advice, and his support. Swords, caps, and golden roses came to him, as evidence of his fidelity; but Henry wanted something more than roses, caps, and swords from

Rome. He wanted a pontifical declaration that a papal bull can set aside the Word of God. Knowing how the Julian bull had been procured, and finding how that bull was questioned, Henry wished to have the act confirmed, in order that his daughter might be married, and his dynasty might feel secure. To this end he was ready to exalt the papal power, and seat his friend and subject in the Holy Chair. But Charles, aware that when he came to marry, he must take a wife from Lisbon, had the strongest motives for preventing an English cardinal going to the Vatican.

4. Giulio de Medici, a natural son of Giuliano de Medici, was chosen Pope: chosen by consent of many parties, each of whom believed the smooth and artful Florentine a friend. François counted Giulio as a partisan of France. Charles expected him to favour an Imperialist policy. The liberal cardinals supposed that he would patronise liberal learning, like his uncle, Leo the Tenth. Advocates of the old theology imagined he could curb the new attempts to brighten Christian studies by help of classical writings and original texts. All parties seemed to hail in him a champion of the faith. According to the canon law, a bastard could not serve the altar; and this offspring of Antonia the Cittadina (whose family name is still a subject of dispute!) had been introduced into the clerical order as a Knight of Rhodes. But on his uncle, Leo the Tenth, attaining spiritual power, the flaw in

blood had been removed, in order that he might receive a cardinal's hat. No one could say that Giuliano de Medici had married Antonia, even in secret; but a man was found to testify that the Magnifico had promised the nameless beauty marriage; and on this poor lie Leo had sealed a bull removing the impediment of birth.

5. Prior of Capua, Archbishop of Florence, Cardinal de Santa Maria in Dominica, Secretary of State, and finally commander in the field, Giulio had risen with great rapidity in the Church. He made few enemies, and he lost no friends. Every one liked his grave and plausible ways; as much unlike the frivolous style of Leo as the hard demeanour of Adrian. Every one counted on him, for every one had made a bargain with him. Charles regarded him as a chaplain. Late in life, his father had married Filaberta, sister of Louise de Savoy, so that the court of France considered him a near connexion. When this bastard priest, who by the canon could not hold a cure of souls, ascending the pontifical throne, assumed the name of Clement, all parties seemed to think the Christian commonwealth was saved.

6. Yet under Clement, in a reign of less than a dozen years, the Knights of Rhodes were to be received in Italy as fugitives; Rome was to be sacked by a French prince, commanding an Austrian army; the Pope was to be taken prisoner by his spiritual children; Wolsey was to be sacrificed, and the King

of England alienated; Germany was to be offended in her dearest sentiment; the northern part of Europe was to be separated from the Church of Rome; and the last phantom of a Christian commonwealth was to disappear!

7. Wolsey was deceived like all the rest. Some chagrin might have been expected in the moment of defeat, and yet his words of congratulation seemed to be sincere. No one, he told the Pontiff, had more reason to rejoice than he that the election had fallen on Giulio, since he had already received from him so many proofs of his regard. From his piety and wisdom everything was to be hoped, and the affairs of Christendom would be brought into a happier state. His letters to the English ministers in Rome were no less hearty in expression. 'For my part,' said the Cardinal, 'I have in this behalf attained that thing which I have entirely and cordially long desired, having the same person Pope whom I, above all spiritual persons living, have in mine heart most loved and been most affectionate unto.' Next to his own success, the Cardinal of York rejoiced to find a man whose weakness he might hope to work on, seated in the Papal chair.

8. Yet no long time elapsed ere Wolsey had his differences with Rome. His powers as Papal legate were the widest ever known, and yet he wished to have these powers enlarged. As Clement put him off with words, his spirit chafed against a man whom he affected to have seated in the holy

chair. 'To be plain with you,' he wrote to Pace, 'as one in whom I have my singular trust and confidence, I esteem somewhat more strangeness to be showed unto me than my merits require.' Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua, who came to London on the Pope's affairs, assured his holiness that the King and Cardinal of York were in a dangerous mood. Wolsey was talking of a General Council. Something must be done, the Cardinal said. The Church was sick. Obedience and esteem were dying out. Unless the Pope should change his course, lay princes must proceed against him, in order to save the Church. Amboise never used a bolder tone than this chief minister of faithful England.

CHAPTER II.

LUTHER.

1524.

1. CLEMENT was deeply hurt. When Wolsey spoke of a General Council, and declared that unless the Pontiff changed, the world would follow Luther into schism, and make an end of Rome for ever, Clement took heart to answer, though with bated breath and down-cast eyes, that Wolsey was forgetting his usual prudence and might live to see the error of his way. The Cardinal's words, he said, were brave; but was it for a pillar of the faith to pull the roof about their heads? Was it for him to menace Rome with a revolt in every province of the Church? Those threats were hardly worthy of so sage a minister; not to suggest that revenge was a forbidden luxury, even if the Pope were clearly in the wrong. Clement had such confidence in Heaven, and in his own conscience, that he should pay no heed to threats. He knew that not the King's majesty only, but his reverend lordship also, were too prudent, out of mere displeasure with himself to offend against God, and ruin a faith in which they had

been born. 'The Cardinal,' he added, 'will see how dangerous it might be to suffer this pernicious heresy to infect the realm; which heresy, after throwing off the yoke of priests, would hardly deign to tolerate that of kings. His most reverend lordship would be one of the first to suffer from the change. Is he so blind to the greatness of his fortune as to risk all? Let him consider these things well; when he has done so, he will doubtless change the bad opinions which he holds about the Pope.'

2. A poor monk, born of peasant family, living in an obscure district, serving in a secondary order, seemed to be leading half the world astray; seemed so in official eyes, which looked on men and things from consecrated heights, and rarely saw into the inner life of man. The great and upward movement, which has since been called the Reformation, was not born of Father Martin, monk in the Saxon branch of the Augustines. Long before he hobbled up the Santa Scala on his knees in search of spiritual blessings; long before he heard of Roman priests mocking at the consecrated bread and wine; this movement towards the light of truth and freedom of opinion had commenced. It was the forward progress of the world. This movement had been helped by many schoolmen, who supposed they were defending orthodox opinions. It was noticed in the early Lollards, and was radiant in the work of Wycliffe. It was present in the pulpit of Pierre de Bruys; in the pages of Arnoldo da Brescia; in

the cell of Roger Bacon. It was active in the field with Peter Revel; in the castle of Lord Cobham; in the pulpit with John Huss; in the camp of John Ziska; in the class-room of Pico di Mirandola; in the observatory of Abraham Zacuto; in the college of Antonio di Lebrija. The movement had been marked by many trials; wars in Provence and Calabria; burnings in Seville and Canterbury; persecutions in Rome and Paris. The cause had a thousand martyrs, a million devotees. Yet Father Martin, by his force, his humour, and his earnestness, was well prepared for the office of a torch-bearer in the march; and by the boldness of his step and the audacity of his voice, he called the world to witness that this army was no phantom host. Luther had burnt a papal bull, thrown off his frock, and taken to himself a wife; renouncing with his monkish habits the traditions of a sacerdotal class, and claiming as his natural right the freedom of a citizen and a man.

3. He had to fight for life, and liberty of speech as dear to him as life, with such antagonists as Silvestro da Prierio, general of the Dominicans, and Jakobi Hochstatten, chief of the Inquisition of Cologne. These great officials of the Church were angry that a peasant monk, of the inferior Order of Augustine, should presume to have opinions of his own. They wished to silence him with cord and fire. But Luther, by appealing to the sentiment already active in his class, had gained such power that no one liked

to lay a hand on him. 'Should he be touched, a hundred thousand of us will defend him with our lives,' cried the German burgesses. Cæsar could not silence him. Nothing was left except to meet him, on his own ground, with book and tract. But Luther was no easy enemy to foil. A humour somewhat coarse, a power to hit and parry, an indifference to counter-strokes, made him an antagonist to fear. Erasmus tried a fall with him; for while Erasmus liked some portion of his writing, a fastidious taste revolted from the rude and massive style in which the preacher carried on his work. Eck, Tetzel, and Cajetan, attacked him both with tongue and pen; but Luther so far got the better of these feeble folk that they combined in a request to have him burnt.

4. No prince appeared so ready to engage as champion of the papal cause against this heretic in the Saxon wilds as Henry. Friedrich of Saxony took him to his heart; and Friedrich of Saxony had placed the imperial crown on Charles's brow. Charles dared not vex a prince to whom he owed so much; yet all the feudal and conservative instincts of society were stirred against a priest who set authority at naught. Such men as Fox and More were moved to frenzy by his words. Even Warham was alarmed. The heretic's works were on the point of being burnt in public, as a scandal, when the primate heard that many persons in Oxford were infected with these heresies. With the help of

Wolsey, Fisher, and other prelates, the King brought out his 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments;' which he dedicated to the Pope, whose powers he had a 'secret cause' for lifting above divine and human laws.

5. The Pope had praised his wit, his clerkly conveyance, and his style. 'Well done, well done,' said Clement, as he perused the pages; and on laying it aside, he added, 'It was such a book as he should hardly have thought his grace, being much employed in other feats, could write, since men who occupied their time in writing books had not been able to bring forth the like.' The honorary title of the Defender of the Faith was formally bestowed on Henry for his book. 'Whatever sanction has been given to the works of St. Augustine and St. Jerome by the Holy See shall be given to the King's book,' cried the grateful Pope, who liked the book mainly because it was dull in style and common-sense in thought; a book putting the old theological facts in the old scholastic ways; and proving that the German heretic was disposed to set his interpretation of the Scriptures above that of cardinals and popes. Luther read the treatise in a different spirit, and fired his chain-shot in reply. 'Indulgence may be felt for men who err in common with other men, but the King, a mere worm, a piece of rottenness, has set himself, in pride of will, and knowing what he is about, to lie against the majesty of God in heaven. A servant of God, I am called to cover him with his own filth and mud, and trample

under foot that crowned head which has blasphemed our Lord.'

6. Even More was startled by the lengths to which the King had gone. The Kings of Christendom were seeking to depress the papacy. Lautrec, commanding for the French in Milan, had abolished the papal jurisdiction in that duchy, and the Emperor was about to follow suit in Spain. Henry alone was true. 'I moved the King's highness,' says More, 'either to leave out that point or else to touch it more tenderly, for doubt of such things as might hap to fall in question between his highness and some pope.' More feared that Henry might not always feel inclined to act on his own principles of submission; but the King refused to change a word; 'for which,' says More, 'his highness showed me a secret cause.' By sword and pen, by money, counsel, and support, the King was giving too many proofs of his devotion to the Holy See for Clement to be seriously alarmed by Wolsey's threats.

CHAPTER III.

KING AND QUEEN.

1524.

1. PINING as man had seldom pined for heirs, the King was suffering more calamities on his hearth than prince before his time had ever borne. No son of his survived. He hardly knew how often Catharine had miscarried. From his earliest years of married life a curse had seemed to settle on his house. Few members of his family were aware how many children had been born to him. Reginald Pole, whose mother, Margaret of Salisbury, was governess to his daughter, only knew that several of his infants had been hidden out of sight. Such secrecy and silence drove him into fits of musing, till the man was almost mad.

2. In spite of every doubt, and after every death, the King still loved his wife. In their relations with each other, Catharine found no fault in him, and save in the aspersions of her own countrymen no breath of scandal rested on her matron fame. In earlier days, when Catharine brought to him the freshness of her love, the King

had been a model youth, a man in virtues and accomplishments not unworthy of the good woman who had called him son. In Wolsey's company, and through Fernando's teaching, he had long been losing that fine grace of heart; having learnt from these bad teachers to think himself free to laugh at codes, and make his will the measure of his right. Yet even when his temper was most ruffled by the perfidies of Catharine's kinsmen, he had rarely, if he had ever, vented his ill-will on her.

3. He treated her with fondness, even when she was opposing him in things on which his heart seemed set. Never had Kate been lovelier in his eyes and closer to his heart than when he heard her battling in imperious language for her nephew Charles. Those who told the story of her opposing her husband's meeting with the King of France at Ardres, reported that the King, instead of being angry with his wife, seemed glad to find her acting with such spirit. She failed to change his purpose; yet he liked his councillors to see that Kate—his own brave Kate—was every inch a Queen. At every glimpse into the royal circle, Henry is observed in gallant humour with his consort. On occasion of the interview with Charles, Wolsey carried Sauch, the Flemish envoy, to the royal closet, where they found the King and Queen in conversation. 'Madam,' said Henry, 'the Emperor, my brother and your nephew, is coming to visit us.' Catharine clasped her hands and raised her eyes. 'Thank God!' she

cried, 'that I shall see his face; the greatest good that I can have on earth.' Then, turning to the King, she thanked him also, making him a curtsey, almost to the ground. Henry lifted his bonnet from his head, and, with a stately bow, declared that he would do his part to bring the thing she had so much at heart to pass.

4. Seven years older than the King, a widow with experience of the world, and all the premature sagacity of the South, Catharine had at first a great advantage over Henry in their married state. But time and grief were wearing out her frame. At forty women of the South are old, and Catharine was not only in her fortieth year, but broken in her health.

5. The Princess Mary lived, but Catharine nursed no further hope. No son of hers would reign when she was gone. How deep a sorrow lay in Henry's heart she knew. What dark forebodings clouded and perplexed his people she was also well aware. She could not ease this sorrow and remove these fears. To ride from house to house, from shrine to shrine; to weary Heaven with vows and gifts; to purge and bleed her wasting frame; and now and then, when stung into remembrance of her peril, to explode in passionate speech, was now become the order of her life. Though Henry kept his ancient kindness, they were often parted from each other—partly by her illness, which required a tranquil life and country air, and partly by the weight of public

business, which compelled the King to stay in town. Eltham, Amptill, and Fotheringay were her favourite homes.

6. No formal separation of the royal pair took place; yet Henry showed a restless and bewildering sense of insecurity in his married state. Luther denounced his marriage as an act of incest, and Luther was the mouthpiece of princes who disliked his championship of Rome. Too well he knew what doubts were felt in Spain, yet Clement still withheld his confirmation of the Julian breve. How was the King to deal with such a line of facts? The earth was quaking underneath his feet; and while he guarded Catharine, as of old, he was constrained to ask himself whether such men as Amboise and Warham were right in saying that his union with the Queen was void in law and cursed of God.

7. To whom should he submit his fears? Longland, his confessor—a good preacher and an able man—avoided politics, and attended to his pastoral work. In the privacy of his closet Henry asked this bishop, whether what was said about his marriage was true? Longland was not a canonist, like Warham, but he saw good cause for doubt. Since doubt was fatal to the public peace, Longland suggested that they should see the lawyers, and weigh once more the sacred texts. Before they moved, however, they must seek the primate, and obtain his license to review the Papal act.

8. Henry was much perplexed. The lesson he

had learned in youth that princes are allowed to marry by a different rule to ordinary folk, was rooted in his mind. To the astonishment of Pace, a liberal scholar and an upright priest, he broached this doctrine in connexion with his daughter's marriage; alleging that a person of the blood royal could be bound in wedlock by a form of words, and at a time of life, when ordinary men would not be bound. Pace rejoined that such a notion was entirely wrong, and that his doctrine had no ground in either law or reason. Henry was as much surprised as Pace. But things were changing in the world around him. Every man was judging for himself of the most sacred things. In vain, he had exalted popes, and won his title of Defender of the Faith. In vain, he had prepared himself a refuge from his critics in a papal port. No one, except himself and Catharine, was deceived. Canons which his father had obeyed in fear, were now being questioned by the common herd. In him, a champion of tradition, orthodoxy, and authority, it was unseemly to assert a personal sense of what was right. A Catholic prince, he thought, should seek advice from monks and priests, and if he needed help, should lay his case before the Pope.

9. At once the matter was referred to Warham, on whose license, freely granted, it was laid before the bench of bishops. To the King's surprise, his bishops were, with one exception, of opinion that his marriage was so doubtful that the question

should be raised. Fisher of Rochester alone stood out. The Pope, he said, had given his bull; and from a papal patent there was no appeal. Warham was earnest with his brother prelate. A paper having been signed by the two primates, and by all the bishops on the bench, except himself, for Fisher to stand out singly was to raise his voice against the church. Fisher at length gave in so far as to allow the primate to append his signature and seal. Wolsey now took the matter up, and pushed it with his powerful hand. The greatest Hebrew scholar then alive was said to be Richard Wakfeld, professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford; the greatest Roman Canonist was said to be Giovanni Stafileo, Dean of the Rota, Bishop of Sebenico, and Papal Nuncio in France. To Pace was given the delicate task of seeking out, and ascertaining the opinions of, these learned men. Pace took up his residence at Syon, with the Carthusian friars, and from this monastery he directed his inquiries far and wide. At first Wakfeld and Stafileo answered that their views were, on the instant, utterly opposed to Pace and Warham; but they were willing to consult their books, and study the great question opened by so many learned clerks. Study of texts and rules convinced alike the Hebrew scholar and the Roman jurist that their first opinions could not be maintained. Each stated his conclusion frankly; each announced his readiness to publish the opinion he had been compelled to form. Pace thought it well

to have these grave authorities near at hand. Wakfeld was asked to bring his books to Syon, where he took up his abode near Pace. Stafileo was invited to come over into England and advise the councillors and canonists how to act. Wakfeld came from Oxford, and Stafileo came from Paris: Clement had not been seated in his chair a year, before his mind was clouded by another aspect of the 'secret matter' of the English King. Aforetime, he was asked to sanction and confirm the Italian bull; but he had let the chance of saving Catharine slip away. Now the petitioner asked him to decide the general question whether a pope can set aside the law of God. He knew what answer they expected him to make. That pontiffs have no power to supersede the word of Scripture was a view supported by the English episcopy, and by the first authority in his courts of law.

CHAPTER IV.

ANNE AND MARGUERITE.

1524–25.

1. As Anne would yield to neither King nor Cardinal, Butler pressed his suit on her in vain. Her place at court was lost; but she had books and flowers at Hever, and a spirit not unequal to the highest strain. The girl had need for all her strength, for in these days of persecution by her uncle and the Cardinal, she was very much alone. Her brother was at college, and her father was at court. A great calamity fell on her, in addition to the loss of Percy, the banishment of Wyat, and the doings of her Irish kin. Norfolk was gone; that good and noble grandfather who might have been her refuge and defence. In Thetford Priory, beside the ashes of her royal aunt, the warrior lay at rest; and her ungracious uncle was the ruling prince at Framlingham and Howard House. To Anne the change was great and sad; for she was now a stranger in her mother's home.

2. The new master at Howard House lived on bad terms with nearly all his family, whose principles he had abandoned and betrayed, but he was more annoyed with his sister's family than with any

other branch. The Boleyns, he conceived, were doing him many injuries. Anne was thwarting his great project for creating a loyal party in the Irish Pale. Boleyn was concerned, he fancied, in an intrigue of the closet for depriving him of his favourite house. Some years ago, the victor of Flodden had received a grant of the royal manor of Hunsdon; a stately lodge and noble park, in which Lady Margaret of Richmond used to live. The house stood high and dry, bathed in a wholesome air, and lapped in sheltering woods. Norfolk, having a dozen houses, had lent Hunsdon to his eldest son, and there the acrimonious couple, and their young children, Henry the poet, Thomas and Lady Mary, had passed the winter months for several years. Liking his winter home, the new duke tried to get the grant renewed, but he was unsuccessful in his suit. Henry took his manor back. To make such grants from life to life was bad in policy, as tending to create a vested right; but Norfolk saw in the King's refusal nothing but an act of personal spite. In no long time, his rage was doubled by discovering that Hunsdon had been taken from himself in order to enrich his upstart brother-in-law.

3. His power to persecute his niece was greatly strengthened by his rise in rank. As Duke of Norfolk, he was her family chief, and chiefs of families like that of Howard were little used to opposition on the part of girls and younger sons.

4. But Anne was of a spirit no less lofty than his

own. Rather than marry at his bidding, she was ready to quit her country and reside abroad. Archduchess Marguerite, who was then at Mechlin, invited her to come and stay with her. Marguerite's court was one of the most refined and brilliant in the world, and Marguerite was a staid and pious lady, no less eminent for her talents than her birth. Anne accepted the imperial invitation; but, unwilling to ask the Cardinal's leave to go abroad, she had to leave her home in Kent by stealth. Her father, as an officer in the royal household, could not openly defy the Cardinal; but a Kentish neighbour, Nicolas Boughton, had the courage to accompany her across the Straits, and to present her with a letter from Lord Boleyn in the court of Marguerite. Boleyn reminded the Archduchess of his former visits, and in gratitude for her kindness to his daughter, hinted that he might return. The Queen of wit and song was charmed with Anne.

5. 'I have received your letter,' the Archduchess wrote in answer to Boleyn, 'by the hand of Sire de Boughton, who has brought to me your daughter; a present more than welcome in my sight. I hope to treat her in such a way that you shall be quite satisfied with me. Let there be no other interpreter between us till the day of your return, than she. I find in her so fine a spirit, and so perfect an address, for a lady of her years, that I am more beholden to you for sending her than you can be to me for receiving her.'

6. Anne in her strange home was free from the persecution of her uncle and the Cardinal. She was used to foreign food and manners. Perfect in her French, a poetess, a wit, and a musician, she was certain to adorn the Flemish court. Her heart was now at rest. Except that she was parted from her father, she was nearly as much at home in Mechlin as in Greenwich. Marguerite wished to keep her; and the weary woman seemed disposed to stay abroad, where she would see no more of Percy's face, and hear no more of Butler's suit. Her visit was prolonged, and Marguerite, to place her in the best position, signed a warrant naming Anne Boleyn one of her maids of honour. That act was dated March the first, 1525; on which date, the poetical and persecuted Anne Boleyn seemed lost for ever to the English court.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECRET MATTER.

1525.

1. If the secret matter were to prosper at the Vatican, what was to become of Mary? Mary was engaged to wed the Emperor; but if the girl were found by Clement to be illegitimate, her engagement with her cousin would not stand. Though Charles had come to England for the ceremony of his betrothal, and had given his 'little wife' the bridal kiss, his councillors were known to feel the greatest doubts concerning Mary's birth. Manoel was dead, and John the Third was reigning in his place. Yet while the Lady Excellenta lived at Santa Clara, the court of Lisbon had the upper hand of every ruler in Castille. John's sister, Isabel, was longing to be Empress. 'Cæsar or no one,' said the Princess to her brother John; and Charles, having an insurrection of the communes in Castille to master, dared not break with John the Third. A league of France and Portugal, supporting the Communes and the Lady Excellenta, might succeed in driving him from Spain.

2. A difference in the age of Charles and Mary was alleged by Spain as a difficulty in carrying out her contract, yet Mary's youth was nothing but a pretext for abandoning the project of a match. Mary would be of age to marry when the Emperor reached his thirtieth year. The obstacles were in his councils, in his Cortes, in his kingdoms; for, with all his power, Cæsar was not able to undo the evil which his grandmother Isabel had wrought. All sorts of rumours got afloat. One day, it was reported in Toledo that Mary was to wed the Dauphin; another day, she was to wed the King of Scots. But Charles's councillors were ruled by other things; the questions of her birth, of her succession to the throne, of the legitimacy of her children, of a new dynastic war, and of a joint invasion of Castille from France and Portugal. They dared not risk a dubious rite; and, pointing to the Excellenta in her convent, these councillors told their sovereign where he ought to chose a wife.

3. Luther and his colleagues were attacking the principle of papal breves of marriage; asserting, much as Warham had asserted, that a pointiff has no power to set aside the word of God. The Mendicant Friars were passing up and down the country vending the papal breves at market cross and village shrine, which raised in a familiar and ridiculous form the questions under scrutiny of learned priests. Fisher, more popish than the Pope, declared that Clement had a right to grant such

breves and bulls. Less violent partizans of the Papacy felt some doubts, and Clement was desired, if he saw good, to stop this sale of breves enabling men and women to marry within the prohibited degrees. Clement complied. A bull was issued on the subject, and a breve was sent to Wolsey, giving him authority to stop the sale; to call such persons as had married on these breves before him; to admonish them, and separate them from each other. Wolsey was enjoined to publish these documents in every English and Irish see; and he was careful to transmit copies to his high-spoken brother of Rochester, whom no one but the pontiff could induce to stop the circulation of a papal scrip.

4. Henry sought to cover Catharine and himself. Clement was asked to grant them a special act of plenary indulgence; and the Pope, being glad to gratify the King, complied with his request. He also sent a second consecrated rose to his Defender of the Faith.

5. Events in France and Italy were preparing Anne's return and Catharine's fall. Bourbon, who loved his cousin Renée, sister of the Queen, had the misfortune to excite a singular passion in the heart of Louise de Savoy. Louise was old enough to be his mother, but at forty-eight her eyes were opened to the light of love. Bourbon was dark and handsome, with a silent lip and haughty brow, which lent him a mysterious charm. The bravest soldier in a land where every gentleman was brave,

he added to his fame as swordsman the repute of a sagacious general. François was jealous of his fame. But François' jealousy was nothing to the fury of Louise. She let the young prince see her love, when Bourbon, in his pride of youth, reproached her with indulging in such follies at her time of life. Louise resolved to ruin him. Bourbon, aware how thoroughly she ruled her son, and having no desire to lose his head, began to plot against his sovereign's life. He made proposals to the Emperor. Bourbon and his partisans were to rise. François and Louise de Savoy were to be expelled from France, and Bourbon was to have the Emperor's sister, Elinor, widow of the King of Portugal, to wife. The plotters were uncovered ere the plot was ripe. Bourbon fled the country; many of his friends were taken; and the Emperor engaged the fugitives in his service. No men fight so desperately as deserters, and Bourbon was a deserter of no common kind. A great and pious league was formed against the French, in which the Emperor, the King of England, and the Pontiff, were to play the leading parts, with Bourbon as their marshal of the camp. Until the issue of this strife was seen, Charles would not seem to make his choice between his cousin Mary of England and his cousin Isabel of Portugal.

6. Once more the victories and perfidies of Spain amazed the world. François, left without a friend in Christendom, was turning to the Turk, Solyman the Great; but Solyman was far away, and François

had the mortification of seeing his armies chased by his vindictive rebel through the Alps. France was at the mercy of the league, and Henry looked to have his share in the success. Charles, his nephew and 'son-in-law,' had offered to assist him in the duchy of Guienne; but every promise made by Charles was broken to his personal profit and his uncle's loss. Charles threw an army into Bearn, which he annexed, as being a portion of his kingdom of Navarre; but when the English envoys urged him to attack Bayonne, and open up a road into Guienne, Sauvage, his chancellor, put them off with an excuse. In bitterness of heart these envoys wrote to Wolsey, that so far as they could see, the Emperor had no intention to observe his pledge. It was a bitter truth, but they were bound, they said, to let the King and Cardinal know the truth. In their belief, the Emperor wanted nothing but to use the English forces, as his grandfather had used them, for the acquisition of Navarre.

7. In Rome, where all the secrets of the world were lodged, these acts of Charles excited no surprise. A papal secretary thought the chance of Mary ever coming to the English throne so small as hardly to engage the minds of serious men. Charles, it was known in Rome, would have to wed his cousin Isabel; and then his cousin Mary, whom he called his consort, would be flung aside!

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY FITZROY.

1525.

1. JOHN CLERK was living near the Vatican; openly as a minister of peace; secretly as an agent for the secret affair. Wolsey was veering round towards Paris. If the Julian bull were void in law, he saw no obstacle, other than such as might be raised by Spain, to a divorce of Catharine, and a marriage of the King to Renée. Clerk was an able and a learned man. Henry was fond of him, and sometimes used his pen. A lawyer and divine, Clerk had his own opinion of the things so much disputed in the English Church. He held the view of Warham, that the Papal bull was void. But Wolsey had instructed him in what he was to say and do. The matters were so secret and so delicate that Wolsey dared not put them into words, for fear of the Imperial spies; but Clerk, it was supposed, being popular in the Papal court, would find some means of settling with the Pope before the ministers of Charles were on their guard.

2. Clerk was unable to achieve his object in the

Papal court, in consequence of the course events were taking in the field. Though Bourbon's troops had driven the French into the heart of Provence, the battle seemed of dubious issue; since the Imperialists, unable to assault Marseilles, were falling back, while François, gathering up new armies with amazing speed, was throwing his forces into the Milanese. Advancing quickly through the duchy, François sent the Duke of Albany forward with a separate force to occupy Naples, and appeared to threaten every part of Italy. Clement seemed free to act, and Henry was an object of his paternal care. But Bourbon's genius fettered him again. The battle of Pavia, where the chivalry of France was slain, and François taken prisoner on the field, threw Rome into the Emperor's power, and henceforth Clement was no other than the victor's chaplain.

3. Wolsey entreated Clement to decide the point submitted to his judgment. If the perils of the times were great, delay would make them worse. He dwelt on his anxiety to serve the Holy See, now menaced on so many sides. He was prepared to spend his substance and to give his blood for Rome, and in return he had a right, he said, to ask his Holiness to lend a patient ear to Clerk. But Clement was no longer master of himself. The Emperor's troops were at his gate; the Emperor's councillors were at his board. Clerk answered Wolsey it was useless to go deeper into 'the secret matter,' since his Holiness was 'hang-

ing in the air.' If Clerk should see a chance, he would renew his speech; but for the moment nothing could be done in Rome. Henry's reply was prompt and strange; so prompt that Catharine reeled beneath his blow; so strange that she could hardly comprehend his drift. When she began to see his meaning, she exploded in a fit of passion so volcanic, that the King was forced to interfere, to drive away her Spanish women, to dismiss the servants of her household, and to put her highness under some restraint.

4. Seven years ago, with Wolsey's knowledge and approval, Henry had formed a brief connexion with a girl named Blount, a daughter of John Blount, one of the yeomen of his guard. Elizabeth Blount, a young and pretty lassie, having a humble place at court, was sometimes cast to play in mummeries and masques. At all times ready to amuse his master, Wolsey had put this girl in Henry's way, and, since the hussy smiled and the yeoman winked, every one appeared to be content. The amour lasted for about a year; and Henry had concealed it from the public sight.

5. Elizabeth bore the King a boy, who, in the absence of another son, had now become the darling of his father's heart. The child was christened Henry. Wolsey stood sponsor at the font. John Blount was dubbed a knight; and when the King grew weary of his mistress, Wolsey married her to his ward. At Goltho Manor, in Wolsey's old diocese of Lincoln,

lived a poor demented knight, Sir George Talbois, who, in the opinion of his family, had been an idiot from his birth. A royal commission had been named to see him and report. The man had made a will in favour of the Church; leaving large sums of money to certain monks and priests; but Wolsey, as a member of that commission, had refused to say that he was mad, and that his will in favour of the monks and priests was void. Wolsey and other priests had got the management of his estates. This idiot had a son, Gilbert, who was still a youth; and Wolsey, as his guardian, had been pleased to give this youth in marriage to Elizabeth Blount.

6. From either natural modesty or feeling for his consort, Henry had kept his son by Elizabeth Blount in decent privacy. The boy was called Harry Fitzroy, and page and abigail knew the secret of his birth, yet he had never been paraded in the public sight, nor had a great establishment been formed for him. But when the news came in from Rome that Clement could do nothing towards enabling Henry to get rid of Catharine and marry Renée, this lad was suddenly brought forward as a prince, invested with a dozen offices and titles, and surrounded by a brilliant court.

7. Harry Fitzroy was six years old when he was overtaken by this royal grace. On Sunday, after the feast of Corpus Domini, he was created Earl of Nottingham; the title, borne by Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York. On the same day, he was created Duke of Somerset; the title borne by

Edmund Tudor, the King's younger brother. By another act, he was created Duke of Richmond; the earldom of which had been borne by the King's father. On the same Sunday, he was made a Knight of the Garter, and assigned pre-eminence over every other peer in England. To connect him still more closely with the blood royal, he was made keeper of the city and castle of Carlisle; an office held by the heir-apparent in the days of Richard the Second. A few days later, he was named Lord Admiral of England, Wales, and Ireland, of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Aquitaine. What next? Was Harry Fitzroy to be created Prince of Wales?

8. Sheriffs Hutton, a fine estate in Yorkshire, which had fallen to the crown by Norfolk's death, was given to Fitzroy as a residence, with a view to his appointment as Warden-General of the Scottish Marches. This appointment followed in due course. Castles, parks, and manors, in a dozen shires, were granted in support of these high dignities. To glorify the infant duke, Courtney was created Marquis of Exeter; Brandon was created Earl of Lincoln; Roos was created Earl of Rutland. But favour ran beyond the royal circle. Clifford became Earl of Cumberland, Fitzwater became Viscount Egremont, and Boleyn became Viscount Rochford.

CHAPTER VII.

VISCOUNT ROCHFORD.

1525.

1. This change of front affected Anne's relations with her friend and mistress, the Archduchess Marguerite. While king and emperor pursued a common object, it was easy for the exile to remain at Mechlin; but the moment they began to part company her presence was an awkward and embarrassing fact. If war should come of their estrangement, it would be impossible for a daughter of Viscount Rochford to reside in any character at Marguerite's court.

2. Boleyn was climbing towards his earldom. Henry Stafford died without male heirs, so that the coronet of Wiltshire was without an owner; but the friends of France had always been repressed by Catharine; and while her empire lasted, few of the more liberal of her husband's servants got their due. But Catharine's reign was coming to an end. If Henry kept her in his court, he treated her no longer as his wife. Her pouts and smiles, her tears and frowns, no longer brought him to her knee. The

high and passionate storm was almost spent. When Richmond was advanced, she broke into a violent protest in her daughter's name; but Henry quelled the uproar with a rough and steady hand. Although his consort sulked and stood apart, the feast and revelry went on; and Catharine had to teach her heart the bitter lesson of submitting to a will she had no further power to guide.

3. With the name of 'Arbitrator of Europe,' Rochford devoted himself to public business. Henry liked to have him near, and sometimes used his pen as Secretary of State. George also found much favour, for the King, himself a rhymester, was a patron and a judge of song. Besides being named a partner in his father's stewardship at Tunbridge and Penshurst, George was made a gentleman of the privy chamber, and received from Henry's bounty the manor of Grimston, in Norfolk, lately held by Sir Thomas Lovel. Henry taught his gentlemen to marry young, and George was taking to himself a wife, in Jane, a daughter of Lord Morley. Jane was a widow, with a pretty face, a prattling tongue, and an uncertain mind.

4. About the time when he received the viscounty of Rochford as a first instalment of his family claims, Boleyn was freed from the importunate Irish suitor, so that Anne, if driven by a political storm from Mechlin, could return to Hever.

5. 'Mairgread Geroit' could do much. According to the legends of Kilkenny she could rule the

stars; but all her sorceries were unable to support her husband in the deputy's chair. When Desmond raised the flag of Richard de la Pole in County Cork and the adjoining parts, as he had promised François, Piers, at great expense and with a world of noise, marched rapidly into the Desmond country, where, by 'Mairgread's' help, he was detaching uncles, cousins, and connexions from the rebel, when Desmond's kernes broke into Kilkenny, and began to waste the Ormond lands. This outrage forced the deputy to face about. Marching against these kernes, Piers shut them up in the strong castle of Cahir Doneske, standing on an islet in the river Suir. Two bridges joined this islet to the land, but while Red Piers beleaguered Desmond on the north, the 'dirty rascals,' as he called them, took advantage of the other bridge to run away. Piers followed in their wake, but only to discover that Kildare was at his tricks again.

6. Kildare had asked the King's permission to return and do him service in the Pale. His manner was so frank, that Henry thought he had become a friend, and on a formal act of reconciliation to Piers being signed, he had been suffered to return. But he was hardly at Kilmainham ere he sent his agents to the uncles, cousins, and connexions of the Geraldines, in all their branches, urging them to stand together, and let their neighbours of the English council know that if they wanted peace in

Ireland, they must always have a gentleman of that family in the vice-regal chair.

7. Kildare incited certain chiefs of the O'Briens, by offers of wages, and a gift of horses, silks, and cloth, to rise against the King's deputy. A trap was laid for him. One of the O'Briens came into his camp to ask a parley for their chief; during which parley Desmond was to surprise them in their talk, and both the O'Briens and the Geraldines were to fall on Piers. The deputy repaired to Camys, the place of meeting, with a slender company. O'Brien, seeing them weak, set on them with a shout, not waiting for the Geraldines to come and share the spoil. To their surprise, the deputy's men stood firm. The bravest man of the O'Briens fell dead; and with a yell of rage, the kernes broke up and ran. Desmond, meeting the fugitives, and hearing that the deputy had a mighty power behind him, halted in his march, and swore that he would go no farther with such allies. But Kildare took heed that the disturbance should not curse. He gave a place called Castle Curry, standing on the border of Kilkenny, to Connor O'Brien, as a fortalice from which his men could scare the Butler sept. He sent his kernes to waste the Faragh of Tullock, one of the Ormond lordships; got M'Morgho, one of his Irish captains, to attack Arklow, one of Piers' castles, and carry off his ward. M'Morgho set fire to a house in which Piers was sleeping, so that the deputy had to sally in his shirt. When Piers com-

plained before the council of this outrage, Kildare answered jauntily that Desmond might have been gained to the King's party by other means, and that the deputy was not a man to preserve the King's authority within the Pale.

8. At last the government interfered and let Kildare resume his place. James Butler still remained in London, waiting for his cousin Anne. Boleyn leased to him the manors of Arklow and Tully Phelim; portions of his Irish property overrun by wild Irish, and not to be recovered in a court of law. He offered James his manor at Carrick M'Griffin on easy terms. It was a case of getting little or getting nothing. But he could not give his daughter Anne to James, nor yield his claims on the Irish Earldom to Piers. After his elevation to the viscounty of Rochford, he saw less reason than ever to renounce his family rights. Wolsey no longer pressed the Irish marriage, and the maid of honour, freed at length from the pretensions of her Irish suitor, left the court of Marguerite for her father's house; flying before the tempest into what appeared to her a port of peace.

CHAPTER VIII.

COURT LIFE.

1525–26.

1. ROCHFORD had his apartments in the palace, where his duties lay, and where his children and connexions were about him in their several posts. George was a gentleman-in-waiting, and George's wife a lady in attendance on the Queen. Carey, his son-in-law, was in the bed-chamber. Mary, his daughter, had a youngster at her knee; that Henry Carey, who was afterwards Baron Hunsdon, Captain of the Guard, and Lord Chamberlain to his cousin, Queen Elizabeth. Frank Bryan, his sister Margaret's son, a bold and merry lad, was master of the henchmen and first cup-bearer. Save his daughter Anne, the victim of his Irish feuds, all Rochford's children were settled in the world.

2. Carey, a young and supple fellow, stood so high in favour that he was not unlikely to attain that part in Henry's daily life which Marney had enjoyed so long. Marney had been the King's man: his comrade in the saddle, at the butts, and in the hunting-field; the nearest to his ear and closest to his heart.

When Marney died, Carey seemed the next of choice. Wolsey's sagacity was at fault in Carey, and the Cardinal failed to win him as a friend. When tossing Buckingham's lands to right and left, Wolsey overlooked him in the press, though grooms and pages not so near the closet were secured. Three years elapsed before he tasted of the spoil; but when the rain began to fall, it came in floods. About the time of Marney's death, Carey received from his indulgent prince the manors of Stansford Rivers, the two Tracies, Sutton and High Ongar. Henry made him keeper of the great house and park at Wanstead. Yet his hand never tired of giving. Marney's manors were bestowed on Carey; Brickhill, Erringham, and Burton, the borough of Buckingham, and the seignorial rights attached to it, including a power of holding fairs and markets. Carey was now provided with an income to support a peerage; and except his comrade, Henry Norreys, no man in the chamber seemed more likely to obtain that mark of royal grace.

3. This Norreys was a man of men: liked by the King his master, and by every one who had to do with him. A romance in his birth and fortune fixed men's eyes on him, as on a youth in whom two streams of history had met. His father, Sir William Norreys of Foljambe, was the son of Sir Edward Norreys and Frideswide Lovel, one of the co-heiresses of that Viscount Lovel who had lost at Stoke a peerage held by his fathers from the days

of Richard the First. Sir William had been a staunch opponent of the cause in which his father-in-law perished. Those unhappy days of strife were gone. The swords of York and Lancaster were crossed in peace above his fireplace, and in little Harry the White Rose blossomed with the Red. Sir William had been dear to Richmond, and Harry was in turn a favourite with his son. Norreys had lived in France, and picked up many of the graces and accomplishments for which that country was renowned. In Paris he had known Anne Boleyn, and had left that capital with her father, in the splendid embassy sent by François to propose a match between the Dauphin and Princess Mary. On his coming over, Henry had named him Groom of the Stole, and from that moment Harry Norreys had been seldom absent from his master's side.

4. 'Mr. Norreys,' ran the Court regulations, 'is to be placed in the room of Sir William Compton, and give attendance, not only as Groom of the Stole, but in the bed-chamber; no other of the six gentlemen to enter the bed-chamber unless called by the King.' Norreys was a younger Compton, just as Carey was a younger Marney. Henry not only made him Keeper of Foljambe Park, an office held by his father, but granted him a dozen manors, parks, and lordships, in as many shires. He had his pensions and his perquisites of many kinds, and Henry deigned to visit him at his country-

seat of Yattendon, in Berks. Yet Norreys was no carpet courtier, but a man of metal, worthy of the race of heroes who in after times were to renew the glory of his ancient name.

5. Two of the other six gentlemen of the bedchamber were Carey and Russell. Sir John Russell was Wyat's early friend. Wyat and his wife's brother, Sir George Brooke, were squires of the King's body. William Brereton was a groom, and Francis Weston a gentleman of the privy chamber. Most of these men were married, and their wives had places in the palace; one in the wardrobe, another in the closet, a third in the ante-room. A merry set they made. These gentlemen were enjoined to live on friendly terms, and keep the secrets of their office; not to ask in the King's absence whither he was gone, and when he would return; not to gossip about his pastimes, and to let the King know if any one used unseemly language. Henry, with a sense of the ridiculous as keen as Wyat, drew a pen through these pedantic rules. High play was not allowed in the privy chamber, though the King had no objection to either cards or chess, if played at proper seasons and for moderate stakes. No one was to seek his own advancement, nor to tease his lord with people's suits. Such service was no burthen to the lightest head, and what with music, chess, and song, their in-door life sped merrily enough.

6. Men like Wyat, Carey, and Norreys, like to shine in ladies' eyes—not only as proficients with the lyre and tables, but the sword and lance. A tournament was proposed for Christmas-tide, in which Carey and Norreys were to fight on opposite sides. Four ladies of the court (no doubt Anne Boleyn foremost) were to give a castle, called the Castle of Loyalty, into the charge of certain knights, among the rest to Carey, Brooke, and Wyat. Carpenters and engineers prepared that castle of loyalty in the tilting grounds at Greenwich; and the King himself, attended by the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Montagu, Frank Bryan, and Harry Norreys, rode into the lists. Fierce was the fight before that castle gate. The battle opened on the morrow after the feast of St. John the Evangelist, and only ended on the festival of St. John of Matha. 'Never was battle of pleasure better fought than this was,' writes the chronicler of jousts; and nothing was so busy in men's brains, until the news arrived that François was a prisoner, and that Charles was master of the world.

CHAPTER IX.

ROYAL MARRIAGES.

1526.

1. DOWN to the moment of his union to his cousin, Isabel of Portugal, Charles affected to be keeping his engagement with his cousin Mary of England. He had taken Mary's money, and received from her the bridal kiss. A gentleman, he affirmed that he would keep his oath; unless the King, his uncle, should desire to see him marry in some other court. As Emperor, he had to think of others more than of himself. The welfare of his states lay near his heart; yet nothing should be either done or undone save as Henry willed. He sorely wanted money, and he hoped the King, his uncle, would increase the dowry; but he seemed to leave his fate in Henry's hands; a trick, as Wolsey saw, to gain his ends without the risk of an unprofitable war. In answer to a hint from Rome about a league with France, the Cardinal required that one of the demands addressed to Charles before a final breach should be, 'Will you marry the Princess Mary, with the dowry already paid, or will you not?'

2. Wolsey heard from Sampson, who was gone with Tunstal into Spain, that Charles and John had come to an agreement with each other, and that Isabel would be married to the Emperor when a Papal bull had been obtained. Yet here was the Treaty of Windsor, binding Charles to wed his cousin Mary, and the dowry stipulated in that treaty had been paid. Henry refused to hear of Mary being abandoned. 'Considering that the Emperor is to marry the King's only child,' wrote Wolsey, even after hearing that the Portuguese match had been arranged, 'it is only reasonable that the King should be better acquainted with his secret intentions than he is.' But Charles was not excited by this lofty tone. The battle of Pavia, which freed the English king of Richard de la Pole, who fell among the heap of slain, had given the Kings of France and Navarre into the Emperor's hands. Charles kept a silent tongue, but by his hints he led the King, his uncle, to imagine he was bent on cheating Isabel and John. In striving to penetrate that icy front, Henry told his nephew that his union with Mary would make him 'lord and owner of all Christendom.' Charles seemed to raise no question beyond that of Mary's custody. He wished to have the girl in Spain, in order that his people might be certain of their future Queen. Though fond of Mary, Henry was ready to consult his nephew's good. He named commissioners to treat for the delivery of his daughter to the Emperor, and Mary

sent an emerald ring to her betrothed; saying it was a talisman of love and loyalty, which she desired him to wear for her sake; so that when, in God's own time, they met as groom and bride, she could read in the depth and purity of the stone whether he had been true to her or not.

3. The smooth and silent gentleman took the jewel, drew it on his finger, and inquired about his little spouse. With placid brow he learnt that she read good books, plied a busy needle, and adored his majesty. Had Mary's birth been free from cavil, and the Excellenta in her grave, the Emperor would have had the strongest reasons for preferring Mary to his cousin Isabel; but Spain was eager and excited; and the Council of Castille insisted on the match with Portugal. A deputation from the cities waited on his chancellor, and learnt from him that Charles was bound to carry out his treaty with his cousin Mary. But they also learnt that Charles might feel himself assisted to a better notion of his duty by a little money. Charles, the Chancellor said, had pledged his troth, and spent the dowry of his bride. If they would pay his debts, he might be readier to oblige them in return. Yet on the day in which Sauvage used this language in Toledo, his ministers in London were asking the King to make his nephew happy, by sending his daughter out to Spain!

4. Wolsey learnt from Valladolid that every point was settled with the King of Portugal.

Charles was to marry Isabel. A Papal bull was needed for his breach of faith with Mary; but to a victorious army, lying at the gates of Rome, the Pope would not be able to refuse a Papal bull. A man was found for Elinor, the widowed Queen. At first, it was the handsome Bourbon, with a kingdom to be torn from France; but since the death of Claude, the pretty widow had been lifting up her eyes towards Paris. Bourbon was a vassal prince, while François was a reigning King. Elinor, already Queen of Portugal, preferred to wear the matrimonial crown of France. As nothing could be left undone which Portugal desired, these offers were being pressed on the prisoner in Madrid, as part of his conditions of release.

5. Marguerite de Valois went to Spain, with some wild hope of fascinating Charles. She was a widow, and a widow's garments gave a pensive tone to her bewitching face. If Charles could only see how beautiful she was, it might be well not only for his captive, but himself. François had been foully used; badly by Bourbon, worse by Charles; and Marguerite, while freeing her brother, had no objection to secure a crown. As every cardinal wished to be Pope, so every princess wished to be Empress; but the young and calculating Cæsar had no eyes for Marguerite; though Marguerite entered into female plots with Elinor, each of whom agreed to help the other in her matrimonial schemes.

6. A secret agent of Louise de Savoy, one Passano, was in London, waiting for events to take a better turn. This man, by birth a Genoese, by trade a grocer, was employed by Louise, partly for his wit and knowledge of the world, and partly for the ease with which a grocer passed from port to port. No one save the Cardinal knew his purpose. On his coming over, Wolsey received him privately at Richmond; asked him several times to dinner; and seemed to have a liking for the man of figs. Being asked what this Passano was about, Wolsey excused himself from entering on such trifles, adding that he would answer by-and-by. Passano lodged with Father Larke, a prebendary of St Stephen's, near York Place. The Cardinal was also waiting on events, and when he heard of François' capture, he made a merit of dismissing Passano with much appearance of contempt. Passano soon came back to London, with the unpaid pensions due from France. A change was seen in Wolsey from that moment. Heretofore a public champion of the Holy League and the dismemberment of France, he now became an advocate for the King's release on reasonable terms, for an alliance with the French against the Emperor, and for a closer union of the House of Lancaster with the House of Valois.

7. Charles laid such heavy terms on François, that his prisoner, out of shame, proposed to abdicate his throne. Mary had once been promised to the Dauphin, and when François talked of abdicating, Wolsey re-

newed that scheme. Louise of Savoy, who was moving heaven and earth in favour of her son, consented to his scheme. The Dauphin, after marrying Mary, was to be proclaimed. Clement knelt in prayer, and Solyman raged in battle, at the instance of Louise; but nothing scared the Emperor's councillors like news of what the Regent and the Cardinal had done.

CHAPTER X.

WOLSEY'S PLANS.

1526.

1. THE terms imposed on France were harsh; for though the King was taken prisoner, not a rood of French territory had been won by the Imperial troops. François signed the articles under a belief that he was not bound in honour to observe a treaty torn from him by force. To Charles he ceded his claims on Naples, Milan, Genoa, and Asti. He agreed to furnish ships and troops when Charles repaired to Italy for his coronation; to repress the Pope, the Doge, the Florentines, and the Ferrarese; to abandon the Duchy of Bourgogne, the County of Charolais, the Lordships of Noyen and Château Chinon, and the Viscounty of Auxonne. To Marguerite he renounced the royalty of France in Flanders and Artois. He was to oppose Albret's efforts to regain his kingdom of Navarre; and cease to aid Le Marck and Gueldres in troubling the Low Countries. He undertook to satisfy Bourbon and the rebels who had followed Bourbon's standards; giving his cousin all the lands and castles he had enjoyed before his flight, and paying him the whole

arrears of rent. He promised aid against Solyman. He promised to marry Elinor, and to allow a match between his son, the Dauphin, and Elinor's daughter, Maria. Thus, one of Manoel's grandsons was to be emperor; another, King of France.

2. Would François keep his pledge to marry Elinor? Wolsey was of opinion that he would not, Clement that he need not, keep that pledge. A plan was shaping itself in Wolsey's mind for bringing France and England into union by a double marriage of the royal houses. Catharine was to be divorced, and driven into a convent, as her cousin, Queen Juana, had been driven. The sisters of St. Clare, 'Poor Clares,' had several convents in the country; one of high repute near Aldgate, which a countrywoman of her order, Blanche of Navarre, had founded in the reign of Edward the First. As Papal legate, Wolsey had an influence over the religious orders far beyond the power of ordinary bishops; and he hoped that Catharine might be made, by his persuasive tongue and legatine authority, a sister of St. Clare. Catharine being removed, the King might marry either Marguerite or Renée, as the parties should agree, while Mary might be given to either François or his son Orleans. Wolsey would become the councillor of all these princes; and with the French and English armies at his back, what prince on earth could stay his march on Rome? His first step was to sweep the Queen aside.

3. Henry and Catharine were not parting in a huff, and by a sudden start. Since they had learned to love, and in their passion to defy the law, they had been clinging to each other with a straining grasp. Each year that grasp had tightened, and in tightening had relaxed the threads by which they held. As season after season passed, and their appeal to heaven was answered by domestic woes, the King, in order to protect the woman of his heart, had placed himself in clerical hands, and striven to form a party for his own protection in the Papal council.

4. King and Queen were drifting into separation, like two ships in different currents of the sea. Their personal habits and conditions came in aid of public and political causes. Catharine was growing old and sad. Her friend, Lady Willoughby, had lost her husband; and that lady's daughter, Catharine, as an heiress, had been taken from the widow's side. Maria was alone, and in her misery she left the Barbican and joined the Queen. The Queen was living a proud and joyless life. Except in early days she had never been the King's companion, either in his walks and rides, his hunting parties or his progresses from shire to shire. She took no pains to understand affairs, and only in some hour of mercy, such as that of Evil May-Day, let her action on the court be seen. A woman of the south, she liked to sit and sew, to mumble through her prayers, and dally over packs of cards, while her hus-

band was shooting at the butts, galloping with his dogs a-field, and pounding at his challenger in the ring. As time wore on, their partings grew more frequent and more signal. Henry's strength wore out the strength of others. Compton and Marney, the companions of his youth, were giving place to Norreys and Carey, younger and fleeter men. No man excepting Suffolk could keep his pace. Catharine, in truth, was left behind, though she remained his Queen, the mother of his daughter, and the partner of his state. Her health was giving way. A girl who had been nursed on the Alhambra slopes, among the oranges and pomegranates, was likely in her fortieth year to find the water-side at Greenwich damp and cold. She suffered from the want of warmth. No English doctors understood her ailments, and her choice in Spain was limited by her prejudice of race. No Jew, no Moor, was welcome in her sight; yet nearly all the medical science in the Peninsula was found amongst the Moors and Jews. A something of her mother and her nephew lived in her. Charles was rooting out the last remains of Moorish life, with all that had been left of art and learning by his gifted and unhappy foes. No skill atoned in Catharine's eyes for lack of faith; nor, in the spirit of a Spanish woman, would she take a physician into her household save on the certificate of her priest. These ailments led her into seeking change of air, together with the rest and solace of a private life. Thus, though she loved

her husband with a fierce and jealous temper, she had come to dwell apart from him, even before the Case of Conscience had assumed for her a menacing shape.

5. In spite of his fair words, the Emperor was enraged against the Cardinal. Charles wrote to Henry in a tone of injured innocence, and studied how to punish Wolsey. No event in Italy would have pleased him better than the ruin of his friend in England. They were pushing rivalry and animosity to a perilous length; for if the Emperor was eager to upset the Cardinal of York, the Cardinal of York was plotting with Louise of Savoy's agent to dissolve Catharine's marriage and deprive the Emperor of his crown. Few secrets of diplomacy were hidden from the Cardinal's sight; and Charles was startled by intelligence from London, that his ambassador, De Praet, was in custody, and that the Cardinal was insisting on his punishment. The Archduchess tried to save De Praet from worse disgrace; and Wolsey burnt the Treaty of Windsor with as much delight as he had ever felt in burning Lutheran tracts. Articles were signed with France, binding the two Kings to take a common course, and paving a way for an alliance of the royal families as well as of the crowns.

6. Clement had sent Gregorio da Casale with the utmost secrecy to London, armed with letters for the King and Cardinal, which he was not to place in any other hands than theirs, and only then

with a request that no one should as yet be privy to their contents, saving only Girolamo Ghinucchi, Auditor of the Papal Court. Ghinucchi, a kinsman of the Pope, from whom he had received the bishopric of Worcester, was a man with the Italian art of making himself acceptable to kings and cardinals. Wolsey pushed his schemes so openly that English envoys passing through France were asked by people in the streets about the health of Madame la Dauphine. But he was no less eager for the match of Henry with either Marguerite of Valois or Madame Renée.

7? Cheyne, a kinsman of Rochford, went to Paris, where the King received him in a lively mood. 'Sir, I like your coming; yea, a good deal more than when you came to see me last. My brother has begun that with me which I had meant to begin with him.' When Cheyne read his credentials, François embraced him heartily. 'Come to me when you like,' he said; 'my chamber will be always open to you.' As the English gentleman hung a little back, François sent to ask why he had not used his room. 'If any one had a right,' said François, 'to have treated me harshly, it was the King of England; yet he proved my best friend.' He told Cheyne openly that he would never keep the Treaty of Madrid. 'No faith,' he added, 'can be held with Spaniards. They have taken hostages for the cession of Bourgogne, but if I were to give up the province they would still detain my hostages. The Pope and all Italians are

afraid of Charles, and for himself I wish the whole lot of them at the devil.' Louise was no less hearty in her smoother way, and Marguerite de Valois smiled on Cheyne in her widow's weeds. Every one seemed to welcome Wolsey's change of plan.

8. A new confederation, called the Clementine League, was formed; the purposes of which were to destroy the Emperor, to remove his aunt Catharine, and place a French princess on the English throne. Wolsey's minister in Spain reported that the Emperor was very pensive, fearing that the King, his uncle, would desert him, and the more so if he paid his debts. The Spaniards seemed uneasy, and instead of punishing the Cardinal, were disposed to pay the long arrears of pensions due to him. Passano, who had been created Sire de Vaux for his success, returned to London as the French ambassador. Hints were dropt that François and the King should have a meeting, but without the cost and fuss of Ardres and Guisnes; a simple meeting, as between two friends and neighbours. François proposed that every detail of the business contemplated in the Clementine League should be settled first, in order that they might be merry, and enjoy each other's company when they met. Catharine was to be divorced and made a sister of St. Clare; and either Marguerite or Renée was to be the English Queen.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

THIRTEENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 14, 1509; Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 2; Leti, *La Vie d'Elizabeth Reine d'Angleterre*, 27; Burnet, *History of the Reformation* (ed. Pocock), i. 73–6. A candid reader will not judge the Queen by modern rules. In the fixed thought and settled codes of our own day her union is of course regarded as incestuous; but in Catharine's time the matter was open to much debate. If great divines like Amboise and Warham were on one side of the contention, great Reformers like Melancthon and Tyndale were on the other side. For Melancthon's opinion see *Epistola*, l. iv. p. 183–5. The best argument ever put forward for Catharine is that by Tyndale in his *Practise of Prelates*, 1530. Protestant writers have been so much staggered by the fact, that they have generally omitted this passage from Tyndale's book (see Walter's edition of Tyndale's *Works*, ii. 236).

2. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 14, 1509; Pace to Wolsey, June 30, 1518; Pedigree of the House of Portugal prefixed to *State Papers*, i. xxix.; Abel, *Invicta Veritas*, 1532.

3. Wood, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, i. 158; Bergenroth, *Supplementary Spanish Calendar*, 45, 46. After his dismissal from the service, Fray Diego wrote to Henry: 'Domine mi Rex ego miror quomodo vestri consiliarii non timuerunt Deum et homines mittere me extra Regnum vestrum cognocendo cuncta secreta de domo vestra et Regno vestro cognosco, et maxime quod omnia secreta que in principio Regni fuerunt inter vos et Regem

Aragonie; ego propriis manibus scripsi in cifris Regni taliter quod responsiones vestras et suas ego omnes vidi.'

4. Henry to Bainbridge, June 26, 1512; Henry to Max, June 26, 1512.

5. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Henry to Max, June 26, 1512; Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, 9; Mariana, *Historia de España*, l. xxix. c. 8, 9; *Cartas del Cardinal Don Fray Francisco Imenez de Cisneros*, 27–36.

6. Doge and Senate to Badoer, Aug. 6, 30, Sep. 14, Nov. 15, 1509; Letters from Badoer, Sep. 9, 15, Dec. 7, 1509; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, l. viii. c. 2; *Histoire de la Ligue de Cambrai*, 1, lib. 1, c. 2; Bembo, *Historiæ Venetæ*, l. x.

7. Egerton MSS. 616, art. 56, f. 25; Fernando to Catharine, Sep. 13, 1509; Henry to Fernando, Nov. 1, 1509.

8. Badoer to Signory, April 20, May 15, 1509; Chappell, *Some Account of an Unpublished Collection of Songs and Ballads by Henry VIII. and his Contemporaries*, 'Archæologia,' xli. 371.

Chap. II.—1. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1509; Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1509; *Life of Bishop Fox*, xxiii.; *De Causa Matrimonii Serenissimi Regis Angliæ liber Johanne Rossensi Episcopo autore*, Compluto, 1530; Lewis, *Life of Dr. John Fisher*, c. xxiii.

2. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Harl. MSS. 4176, 90; Levit. xx. 21; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 386; Corrie, *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, 333; Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* i. 73–9; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 2. The appeal of Henry and Catharine in justification of their marriage, and the answer to that appeal, were clearly recognised by Catharine's friends (see Chapuys, to Charles, June 6, 1531). As soon as the Case of Conscience was presented to the bishops, their opinion was delivered with dramatic unanimity. (See Wolsey to Henry, July 5, 1527, and Wolsey to Casale, Dec. 5, 1527.)

3. Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 2; Baudier, *Histoire de l'Administration du Cardinal d'Amboise*, 114. (See also Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.)

4. Erasmus, *Epist.* vii. 22, x. 11, xxxi. 42, App. lxix. lii. lxxx.; Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 82, 235; Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* i. 74; *Rot. Parl.* 1 Hen. VIII., 3 Hen. VIII., 6 Hen. VIII.; *Parliamentary History*, iii. 3, 5, 10, 16, 23.

5. *Life of Bishop Fox*, xxiii.; *Chronica Juricidialia*, 147; Campbell, *Lives of Chancellors*, i. c. 26; Cassan, *Lives of the Bishops of Winchester*, 326–32; Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Cal.* 45.

6. Privy Seals, Aug. 7, 1509; Pat. 1 Hen. viii. p. 1, no. 11; Wolsey to Henry, June 2, July 5, 1527; Fisher, *De Causa Matrimonii*, 1530; *Assertionis Lutheranæ Confutatio*, per Reverendum Patrem Joannem Rossensem Episcopum, 1523; Fiddes, *Collections*, 185; Hardy, *Syllabus of Fœdera*, ii. 742; *A Collection of all the Royal Wills now known to be extant*, 356; Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, c. xxiii.; Collier, *Collections of Records*, ix. 74. When the English bishops were consulted on the marriage, Fox was dead and Fisher stood alone. See Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 222.

7. Bourchier, *De Martyrio Fratrum Ordinis Minorum in Anglia sub Henrico IIX.* 1583; *State Papers*, vii. 489, 492, 517, 702; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xv. 363–95; *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 32, 38; Francis a Santa Clara, *Supplementum Historiæ Provinciæ Angliæ*, i. 7.

CHAP. III.—1. Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 3; *A Collection of all the Wills now known to be extant of the Kings and Queens of England*, 356–403; Brewer, *Letters and Papers of Henry the Eighth*, i. 33. I cannot quote Mr. Brewer's Calendar for the first time without expressing my sense of its value to historical inquirers. For the period of my story which it covers my obligations to it are innumerable. The Signed Bills and Privy Seals of the reign are duly set forth by Mr. Brewer, and are cited by me under their several dates.

2. Signed Bills, July 10, 1510; Privy Seals, July 5, 1512; Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. VII. p. iii. m. 16, 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 8; Collins, *Peerage*, i. 67–71; Howard, *Memorials, Monuments, Paintings, and Engravings of persons of the Howard Family*, 9–12; Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 836; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 7; Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, ii. 267; Tanswell, *History of Lambeth*, 101, 174; Winstanley, *England's Worthies*, 178–82.

3. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. VII. pt. iii. m. 4; Howard, *Mem. How. Fam.* 12; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 270; Collins, *Peerage*, i. 79, 80; Clutterbuck, *History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, iii. 94; Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, i. 118.

4. Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 506; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 152, 159.

5. Privy Seals, June 23, July 9, 1509, Dec. 29, 1510; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 156–70; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 507–10; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 159–64.

6. Caroz to Almazan, Mar. 29, 1510; Privy Seals, July 27, 1509; Howard, *Memorials of the Howard Family*, 12; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 156.

7. Privy Seal, Jan. 28, 1510; Carte, 'Mem. of the Butler Fam.' prefixed to *Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, i. lxxix. lxxxvi.; Campion, *Historie of Ireland*, b. i. c. 2; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 79.

8. Howard, *Mem. Howard Fam.* 12; Reilly, *Historical Anecdotes of the Families of Boleyn, Carey, &c.*, 3; Clutterbuck, *Hist. Herts*, iii. 95. It will be noticed that Anne Boleyn is ranked as elder daughter. This is the opinion of genealogists who have had to study the Boleyn pedigree in connexion with the descent of property and with sepulchral monuments. Nicolas makes Anne the elder daughter (*Historic Peerage*, 514). Dugdale puts Anne before Mary (*Baronage of England*, ii. 106). Banks puts Anne before Mary (*Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England*, i. 755). Clutterbuck makes Anne the elder (*History and Antiquities of County of Hertford*, iii. 95). Bloomfield makes Anne the elder daughter (*History of Norfolk*, iii. 628). Morant does the same (*History and Antiquities of Essex*, i. 270, 281). Reilly describes Anne, from family notes, as the elder daughter (*Historical Anecdotes of the Families of Boleyn, Carey, &c.*, 3). Weever speaks of Anne as the elder daughter (*Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 514). Yet some writers continue to speak of Anne as the younger daughter. (See Index to *State Papers*, xi. 509; Wood, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, ii. 193; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, i. Int. lxv.) This error, and a legal correction of it, are as old as the later days of Queen Elizabeth. The Earldom of Ormond was bestowed on Boleyn with remainder to his heirs-general (see Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 401–2); and on Boleyn's death without male heirs, this honour fell in abeyance to his elder daughter's issue. Had Mary been Boleyn's elder daughter, her son, Henry Carey, would have been the next male in succession. Anne being the elder daughter, her father's Irish honours fell in abeyance to Elizabeth, and were ultimately merged in the crown. Queen Elizabeth made her cousin

Henry Carey Baron Hunsdon, but she would never grant him any title, either that of Rochford or that of Ormond, which had fallen to her in her mother's right (Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 261). George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon, tried to get the Irish earldom from Elizabeth on the alleged ground that his grandmother, Mary, was older than the Queen's mother (see *Domestic Papers of Elizabeth*, in Record Office, vol. cclxiv. art. 135). Elizabeth disallowed his claim. George showed an astounding ignorance of his family history. He spoke of Anne Boleyn as a 'daughter to the daughter' of Ormond; omitting her Howard descent, and rolling Lady Margaret Butler and Lady Elizabeth Howard into one woman! But his application taught him better. When his daughter, Elizabeth, died, the following words were placed over her grave:—'Here lieth the body of Elizabeth, Lady Berkeley, daughter and sole heir of George Carey, Lord Hunsdon, son and heir of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, son and heir of William Carey and the Lady Mary, his wife, *second daughter* and co-heir of Thomas Bullen, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire' (Collins, *Peerage*, iv. 23). It was only after Elizabeth's death, and the final extinction of Anne's priority, that Mary's descendant got her father's viscounty of Rochford (Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 261, 402).

CHAP. IV.—1. Banks, *Dormant and Extinct Peerage*, ii. 408, iii. 754; Hasted, *History of Kent*, i. 395; Clutterbuck, *History of Hertford*, ii. 348, iii. 72, 94; Orridge, *Citizens of London*, 220; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 255; Bloomfield, *History of Norfolk*, iii. 626–7. Geoffrey and Godfrey Boleyn are sometimes taken for each other. Bloomfield makes Geoffrey the Lord Mayor (*Hist. Norf.* iii. 626); Orridge makes Geoffrey the Alderman (*Citizens of London*, 181) and Godfrey the Lord Mayor (*Cit. Lon.* 220); Strickland rolls the two men into one (*Life of Anne Boleyn*, c. 1). That Godfrey was the name of the Lord Mayor is certain—since his name appears in the Sheriff's list for 1446 as Godfrey, and in the Mayor's list for 1457 as Godfrey (Orridge, *Cit. Lon.* 220, 221).

2. *Calendar of Proceedings in Chancery*, ii. 51; Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1653), 398; Orridge, *Citizens of London*, 181; Bloomfield, *Hist. Norf.* iii. 627; Clutterbuck, *History and Antiquities of Hertford*, iii. 95; Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 183.

3. *State Papers*, i. 141, ii. 51; Reilly, *Hist. Anec. Boleyn Family*, 3; Seymour, *Survey of London and Westminster*, i. 538–40; Brayley, *London and Middlesex*, ii. 348; Maitland, *History of London*, 886.

4. Hunter, *History of Hallamshire*, 256–7; Kildare, *Earls and Marquises of Kildare*, Ad. 21–5; Connellan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, 381; Carte, 'Mem. of the Butler Fam.' prefixed to *Life of Ormond*, i. lxxxi.–lxxxv.; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iv. 321–2; French, *Royal Descent of Nelson and Wellington*, v.; Weever, *Ant. Fun. Mon.* 616.

5. Privy Seals, July 27, 1509; Collins, *Peerage*, i. 57, 79; Clutterbuck, *History of Hertford*, iii. 95, 96; Howard, *Memorials of the Howard Family*, 12; Hasted, *History of Kent*, i. 395; Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 246–50.

6. Privy Seal, July 27, 1509; *Fœdera*, xiii. 258; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 137.

CHAP. V.—1. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, i. 23–56; Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. Cal.* 45.

2. Henry to Innocent, July 21, 1490; Roy, *Satire on Wolsey*; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 2–6; *Articles devised by the whole consent of the King's Council* (1532) art. viii. Striking examples of English belief in 'judgments' occur in Anne Boleyn's communications with Kingston in the Tower. (See Kingston's Letters to Cromwell, Cott. MSS. Oth. c. x.; Harl. MSS. 283; and Howell, *State Trials*, i. 431.)

3. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Signory to Badoer, Aug. 26, 1511; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 366; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, in *Coll. Works*, ii. 319–31; Latimer, *Sermons and Remains*, 322. The names of Catharine's friends were afterwards brought together by Henry, in a curious note to Wolsey: 'I would you should make good watch on the duke of Suffolk, on the duke of Buckingham, on my lord of Northumberland, on my lord of Derby, on my lord of Wiltshire, and on others which you think suspect. . .' Add. MSS. 19,398, f. 644, and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 1 n.

4. Henry to Fernando, July 19, 1509; Fernando to Catharine, Sep. 13, 1509; Fernando to Henry, Sep. 13, 1509; Pace to Wolsey, June 30, 1518; Chappell, *Archæologia*, xli. 371.

5. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, i. 56–86; Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 313; Old Prints in the Gardner Collection.

6. Fernando to Henry, Sep. 24, 1503; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Catharine to Fernando, Mar. 9, 1509.

7. Fray Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, i. p. i. 85.

CHAP. VI.—1. Henry to Fernando, July 17, 1509; Esquivel to Almazan, Sep. 6, 1509; Fernando to Henry, Sep. 13, 1509; Grant of Custos of Sherborne to Puebla, May 11, 1507.

2. Egerton MSS. 616, f. 25; Fernando to Grimaldi, Aug. 7, 1508; Fernando to Guter, Aug. 7, 1508; Guter to Fernando, Mar. 20, 1509.

3. Catharine to Fernando, Mar. 9, 1509; Guter to Fernando, Mar. 20, 1509.

4. Grimaldi's bond to pay Henry forty-five thousand crowns, May 30, 1509; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

5. Egerton MSS. 616, f. 27; Catharine to Isabel, Nov. 26, 1504; Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 1505; Henry to Fernando, July 30, 1509.

6. Erasmus, *Epist.* iv. 6, vii. 15, viii. 4, 8, 11, xxxi. 33; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 333.

7. Henry to Fernando, July 30, 1509; Nichols, *Narratives of the Reformation*, 59; Newton, *London in Olden Time*, 67.

CHAP. VII.—1. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Sanchez, *Disputationes de Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento*, 1602.

2. Catharine to Fernando, March, 9, July 29, 1509; Egerton MSS. 616, f. 25.

3. Esquivel to Almazan, Sep. 6, 1507; Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 18, 1509; Egerton MSS. 616, 56, f. 25.

4. Henry to Fernando, Nov. 1, 1509; Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 28, 1509; Fernando to Diego, Nov. 28, 1509.

5. Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 28, 1509; Elizondo, *Annales de Navarra*, l. iv. c. 4, 5; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. Pref. xxiii. Bergenroth states the plans of Fernando with more detail and greater accuracy than any previous writer (Pref. xxiii–lxxxvi). I am far from agreeing in his estimates and conclusions; but the

general statement, made for the first time from unpublished documents, may be accepted as correct.

6. Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 28, 1509; Fernando to Diego, Nov. 28, 1509.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Badoer to the Signory, Nov. 9, 1509; Patents, Henry VIII. p. 2, m. 21.

2. Privy Seals, June 6, 1509; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 6, 7; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 145–6.

3. *State Papers of Henry VIII.;* Furnival, *Ballads from MSS.* i. 5–52; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii. Pref. 278; *Parl. Hist.* iii. 2.

4. Wright, *Anecdota Literaria*, 66; 'Vision of Piers Ploughman,' in *Political Poems*, i. 101; *Supplication for the Beggars* (1524?); More, *Supplication of Souls;* Roy, *Satire against Wolsey;* Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 80–90; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, 1530.

5. *Parl. Hist.* iii. 3; Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i. c. 26.

6. *Lords' Journals*, i. 3, 7; *Rot. Parl.* 1 Henry VIII. Jan. 21, 1510; *Parl. Hist.* iii. 3, 5; Hargrave's Note in *State Trials*, i. 263; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 5, 6.

7. Privy Seal, Jan. 28, 1510; *Lords' Jour.* i. 5.

8. Doge and Signory to Badoer, Dec. 22, 1509; Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510.

CHAP. IX.—1. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510. The birth and burial of this child were so completely hidden from the world, that Mrs. Everett Green had no suspicion of the King having had a daughter. See *Lives of the English Princesses*, v. 144–5.

2. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, i. 127–45.

3. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, ed. Singer, 219, 220. For a picture of the King's own mind see his remark to More (in More's *Works*, i. 188), and his speech to the two cardinals (in Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 220).

4. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510.

5. Fernando to Catharine, Sep. 13, Nov. 28, Dec. 3, 1509.

6. Badoer to Signory, Oct. 1, 1512; Madoz, *Diccionario de España*, xii. 67–130; Elizondo, *Annales de Navarra*, l. iv. c. 4, 5.

7. Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* l. xxx. c. 4; *Cartas del Card. Imenes*, 36–40.

CHAP. X.—1. Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. Amboise*, 229, 230, 243, 245; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, l. viii. c. 5; Bembo, *Historiæ Venetiæ*, l. ix. x.

2. Henry to Fernando, Nov. 1, 1509.

3. Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 18, 1509; Bembo, *Historiæ Venetiæ*, l. viii. 175; Giannone, *Istoria de Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Mariana, *Historia de España*, l. xxix. c. 7, 9.

4. Henry to Fernando, Nov. 1, 1509.

5. Henry to Fernando, Nov. 1, 1509.

6. Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 18, 1509; Raynal, *Annal. Eccl.* 1510; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* l. xxix. c. 24; Novaes, *Pont. San Piet.* vi. 151.

7. Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 18, 1509.

CHAP. XI.—1. Fernando to Caroz, Jan. 6, 1510; Treaty of Henry and Louis, Mar. 23, 1510; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 7–9.

2. Fernando to Catharine, Nov. 18, 28, Dec. 3, 1509; Hardy, *Syl. Fœd.* ii. 742.

3. Patents, Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 27; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 6, 7; Green, *Princesses of England*, v. 13, 14; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 179; Collins, *Peerage*, i. 80.

4. Pat. 1 Henry VIII. p. 1, m. 27; 3 Henry VIII. p. 1, m. 8; 4 Henry VIII. p. 1, m. 20; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, i. 170; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 145.

5. Signed Bills, Oct. 26, 1509, Nov. 25, 1510; Privy Seals, Nov. 10, 1509, April 30, 1510; Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 6; Collins, *Peerage*, i. 80, 394; Bloomfield, *Hist. Norf.* iii. 627.

6. Diego to Fernandez, May 25, 1510; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

FOURTEENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Bergenroth, *Cal. Span. Pap.* ii. 49, 51, 52.

2. Sanuto Diaries, Dec. 7, 1509, Jan 12, Mar. 1, 1510.

3. Fernando to Vich, June, 1510. (See Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 48.)

4. Draft of a treaty between Fernando and Maximilian, Dec. 3,

1509; Ratification by Max, Jan. 1, 1510; Confirmation by Max, April 28, 1510; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 9.

5. Badoer to Signory, May 15, 1510; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 3, 7; *Fœdera*, xiii. 291; Nott, Memoirs of Sir Thomas Wyat, prefixed to *The Works*, xviii. That Sir Thomas and Lady Elizabeth Boleyn lived at Hever, and that their children were born there, is evident from Boleyn's letter to Cromwell. (See Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3 S. iii 23.)

6. *Life of Fox*, xxii.

7. Signory to Badoer, Mar. 2, 1510; Badoer to Signory, April 30, May 1, 15, 1510.

Chap. II.—1. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

2. Commission to Caroz, Jan. 6, 1510; Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Doge and Signory to Badoer, Mar. 2, 1510; Sanuto Diaries, Mar. 1, 2, 1510. Sanuto's Diaries, so far as they relate to English affairs, are cited by Brown in his Venetian Calendars, and the substance will be found on reference under the respective dates.

3. Repudiation by Henry, June 27, 1505; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 3; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* iii. 293.

4. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Commission from Henry to Ruthal, May 20, 1510.

5. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

6. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Articles of Alliance, May 24, 1510; Sealed Bills, Nov. 20, 1510; Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiii. 291.

Chap. III.—1. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

2. Privy Seals, June 6, Nov. 8, 1509; Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Cal.* 15, 19, 33, 37, 40. 'Bene et clare cognovi erat invidia illorum et oratoris Regis Aragoniæ et Compton magisquam voluntas vestræ majestatis attamen ego non patior coram hominibus Angliæ subditis vestræ majestatis detrimentum honoris et famæ meæ quod opera et servicia mea viderunt et propriis manibus palpaverunt sed cum lacrimis dixerunt et dicunt fuisse mecum crudeliter factum et contra dominam meam crudelissime quia tale judicium et tam repentinum nuncam visum fuit.' Diego to Henry, *Sup. Sp. Cal.* 45.

3. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

4. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510.

5. Diego to Fernando, May 25, 1510.

6. Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, f. 8.

7. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

CHAP. IV.—1. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

2. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

3. Cott. MSS. Vesp. F. xi. 131; Signed Bills, July 5, 1510; *Fœdera*, xiii. 278, 278; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, i. 168; Howard *Mem. Howard Fam.* 16; Aubrey, *Surrey*, v. 237.

4. Henry's Commission to Ruthal, May 20, 1510; Treaty of England and Spain against the infidels, May 24, 1510; Confirmation of the same, Nov. 20, 1510; Sanuto Diaries, May 14, 1510.

5. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

6. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

7. Catharine to Fernando, May 27, 1510; Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, l. xx. c. 65; Llorente, *Historia critica de la Inquisicion*, c. 5; Altafaj, *Zaragoza*, 41–3.

8. Catharine to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

CHAP. V.—1. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

2. Badoer to Signory, Feb. 14, April 20, 1510.

3. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

4. Catharine to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

5. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510.

6. Caroz to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Catharine to Fernando, May 27, 1510.

7. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

CHAP. VI.—1. Caroz to Almazan, May 28, 1510.

2. Caroz to Almazan, May 28, 1510; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 ser. i. 172.

3. Caroz to Almazan, May 28, 1510.

4. Catharine to Fernando, May 27, 1510.

5. Catharine to Fernando, May 27, 1510.
6. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510.
7. Badoer to the Signory, June 8, 1510.

CHAP. VII.—1. Treaty of England and Spain, May 24, 1510; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart.* 418, 435, 437; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, l. x. c. 1; Bembo, *Hist. Ven.* l. x. 229.

2. Sanuto Diaries, April 18, 1510; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 46–7; Novaes, *Pont. da San Piet.* vi. 150–1.

3. Badoer to Signory, Mar. 30, April 6, 1510; Sanuto Diaries, April 6, 8, 1510; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 47; Hardy, *Syl. Fœd.* ii. 742. Several specimens of the golden rose may be seen in the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris. A reader who desires to have the whole lore of the subject will consult Catari (*La Rosa d'Ora Pontifica*, 1682), Rocca (*Opera*, 1719), and Wetser (*Kirchen Lexicon*, ix. 397).

4. Sanuto Diaries, April 18, 21, July 15, 23, Aug. 2, 15, 1510; Badoer to Signory, May 10, 1510; Signory to Venetian envoy in Rome, Sep. 7, 1510; Treaty of Julius and Fernando, Oct. 4, 1510.

5. Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 48–52; Elizondo, *Annales de Navarra*, l. iv. c. 4.

6. Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 52.

7. Erasmus, *Epistolæ*, vii. 15, viii. 4, xxxi. 33; Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 82, 235; Roper, *Life of More.*

8. Macchiavelli, *Corte di Francia*, let. xvi.; Baudier, *Adm. Card. Amb.* 246–7; Bernier, *Histoire de Blois*, 423–32.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 67; Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, 2; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 1–7; Gratiano, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, 185–92; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, *Coll. Works*, ii. 307.

2. Privy Seal, Feb. 21, 1510; Cavendish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (ed. Singer), 68–77; Comp. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.*, act iii. s. 2; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 170.

3. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. 127–146; Furnival, *Ballads from MSS.* i. 331; Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, 3, 5; Winstanley, *England's Worthies*, 184–5.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal. E. ii. 80; Sampson to Wolsey, June 20,

1516; Erasmus, *Epist.* ii. 16; Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 235; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, Pref. i. xl.-xliv.

5. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 80; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 5, 6; *Life of Fox*, xxiii.; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, 308; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 386-9.

6. Caroz to Almazan, May 29, 1510; Privy Seals, Oct. 9, 1509, Jan. 30, 1510; *State Papers*, i. 319, vi. 547, vii. 80, 114; Tyndale, *Works*, ii. 309.

7. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 364, 386, 389; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, *Works*, ii. 308; Roy, *Satire on Wolsey*; Leti, *Vie d'Elizabeth*, 29.

CHAP. IX.—1. Badoer to Signory, Feb. 20, 1511; Revel Accounts, Jan. 6, 1511; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, ix.

2. Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2 S. i. 179; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, ix.

3. Signed Bills, Nov. 20, 1509; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 80-1. For specimens of the bad spelling of English peers see Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, 1 Pref. xciv.

4. *Life of Fox*, xxii.; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, ix.

5. Cleaveland, *Genealogy of the Family of Courtney*, 245; Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 77-9; *Rot. Parl.* vi. 481; Ogborne, *History of Essex*, 112, 134. Cockerells has almost disappeared. A moat and part of a stable still remain. The site of the house is planted with firs, and the name of Cockerells, though found in maps, is forgotten in the neighbourhood.

6. Privy Seals, Aug. 4, 1509; Patents, 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 8; *Lelandi Collectanea*, v. 363; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 29.

7. Signed Bills, April 12, May 9, 10, 1511; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 14; Cleaveland, *Family of Courtney*, 246.

CHAP. X.—1. Erasmus, *Colloquia Familiaria* (1774), 459-502; *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.* iii. 456-70; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, ix.; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 42; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi. 71; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 405; Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, i. 121.

2. Signory to Badoer, Sep. 9, Nov. 16, 1510; Signory to Roman envoy, Nov. 24, 30, 1510; Julius to Warham, April 5, 1510; Novaes, *Pont. da San Piet.* vi. 150; *Ulrich Von Hutton, Schriften*

herausgegeben, von E. Böcking, iii. 236–265; *Ulrich von Hutton*, von D. F. Strauss, i. 92.

3. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. ii. 11, 12, 18; Bembo, *Hist. Ven.* l. ix. 248, 346; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, l. ix. c. 3, 4.

4. Privy Seals, Feb. 7, 1511; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2 S. i. 179; Halls, *Henry the Eighth*, ix.

5. Sanuto Diaries, Feb. 20, Mar. 5, 17, May 11, 1511; Signory to Donato, Mar. 5, May 2, 1511.

6. Privy Seals, Feb. 14, 21, Sep. 18, 1511; Revel Accounts, Jan. 6, 1511; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, xi.; Stanley, *Mem. West. Abb.* 166.

FIFTEENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Sanuto Diaries, Feb. 20, 1511; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, xi.; Stanley, *Mem. West. Abbey*, 166.

2. Sealed Bills, Mar. 28, 29, 1511; Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 2, m. 4; Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiii. 294.

3. Cott. MSS. Jul. C. ix. 85; Instructions to Darcy, March, 1511; Mem. on Spanish Expedition, Aug. 3, 1511; Wolsey to Fox, Sep. 30, 1512; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* l. xxix. c. 10.

4. Treaty of Alliance between Julius II., Fernando the Catholic, and Doge Loredano, Oct. 4, 1511; Henry to Surrey and Shrewsbury, Nov. 10, 1511; Proclamation, Nov. 13, 1511; Treaty of Fernando and Henry, Nov. 17, 1511.

5. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 25, 96; Privy Seals, June 9, 1509; Signed Bills, June 22, 1511; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 137, 148; Brayley, *London and Middlesex*, ii. 348; Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 247. The testimony of Erasmus to the character of Boleyn as grave, noble, and religious, is frequent and emphatic.

6. Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. xiv. 81; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. iii. 23; Howard, *Mem. Howard Fam.* 12, ap. v. vi.; Harrod, *Churches and Convents of Norfolk*, 289; Reilly, *Hist. Anec. Boleyn Fam.* 3; Scharf, *Portraits of the Queens of Henry VIII.* in *Archæologia*, xl. 81, 82.

7. Carles, *Epistre contenant le proces criminel faict a lencontre de la Royne Anne Boullant*, x. 4, 5; Bloomfield, *Hist. Norf.* iii. 627; Hunter, *Hist. Hallamshire*, 256; Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 306; Wood,

Athenæ Oxonienses, i. 98. In the south chapel at Penshurst, and in the village church at Hever, are tablets which have eluded the researches of historians and genealogists. In Penshurst Chapel there is a tablet in memory of 'THOMAS BULLEYEN, THE SONE OF SIR THOMAS BULLEYEN,' and in Hever Church a similar tablet in memory of HENRY BULLAYEN, THE SONE OF SIR THOMAS BULLAYĒ. Anne is described in the text as born in 1501. A marginal note in Camden's *Life of Elizabeth*, 2, gives the date of 1507; a note by Twysden repeats this error in Wyat's *Extracts from the Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 4; though nothing in Wyat's text supports the erroneous date. Herbert says Anne went to Paris at the end of 1514, and returned to England at the end of 1521, 'when she was twenty years of age.' These dates are fixed by other witnesses. Louis the Twelfth speaks of retaining Anne to serve his Queen in 1514 (*Lettres du Roi*, ii. 547). Father Carles says she came to France with Mary in 1514, and remained after Mary left as maid of honour to Queen Claude (*Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 4). Du Tillet says Anne was left in France by Mary, and quitted that country in 1521 (*Recueil des Guerres et Traictéz*, 156). In January, 1522, François complains of her having been taken away from Paris (Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. art. 1994), while in Gibson's Accounts for Christmas, 1521, she is mentioned as being in London (*Letters and Papers*, iii. p. 1559). It is certain therefore that she had left Paris for England before the end of 1521, and being 'twenty years of age,' she must have been born in 1501.

8. Le Glay, *Correspondance de Maximilian et Marguerite d'Autriche*, ii. 14–31.

CHAP. II.—1. Henry to Bainbridge, May 31, June 26, 1512; Signed Bills, May 22, 1512; Ruthal to Darcy, April 19, 1512.

2. Stile to Henry, Aug. 5, 1512; Knight to Wolsey, June 14, Oct. 4, 1512; Sanuto Diaries, May 11, 1512; Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos Quinto*, l. i. s. 46.

3. Treaty of Julius II., Fernando the Catholic, and Doge Loredano, Oct. 4, 1511; Bullæ, Mar. 1, July 21, 1512; Fernando to Vich in *Span. Cal.* ii. 143. While Julius lived Fernando kept a prudent silence as to this nefarious business; but when Julius was dead he tried to get from Leo another bull in the words of his transcript. It is hardly necessary to say he failed.

4. Howard to Wolsey, July 8, 1512; Fernando to Dorset, Aug. 2, 1512; Stile to Henry, Aug. 5, 1512; Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 327, E. i. 108; Favri to Gradenigo, Jan. 23, 1513; Sanuto Diaries, Aug. 17, Sep. 4, 7, 1512.

5. Howard to Wolsey, July 8, 1512; Doge and Senate to Venetian envoy in Rome, Oct. 11, 1512; Sanuto Diaries, Feb. 1513.

6. Alva to Dorset, Aug. 1, 1512; Fernando to Dorset, Aug. 2, 1512; Fernando to Muxica and Caroz, Oct. 1512; Stile to Henry, Aug. 5, 1512.

7. Badoer to Signory, Oct. 1, 1512.

8. Fernando to Dorset, Aug. 2, 1512; Stile to Henry, Aug. 5, 1512; Fernando to Muxica and Caroz, Oct. 1512.

9. Catharine to Bainbridge, Nov. 2, 1512; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 58.

CHAP. III.—1. Cott. MSS. Galb. B. iii. 25.

2. Procl. by Julius II. July 21, 1512; Raynal, *Ann. Eccl.* 1511; *Mémoires de Chev. Bayard*, c. liv.; Giovio, *Vita di Leone X.* l. ii. p. 1271.

3. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 27, 31, 32; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 38, 46, 47; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 9–10.

4. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 40, 41, 47, 49, 50; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 138.

5. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 51.

6. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 21, 22, 23; *Fœdera*, xiii. 344; Böcking, *Ulrich von Hutton Schriften herausgegeben*, iii. 236; Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutton*, i. 94.

7. Privy Seals, Sep. 6, 1512; Howard, *Mem. of Howard Fam.* 12; Tanswell, *History of Lambeth*, 97–8.

CHAP. IV.—1. Wolsey to Fox, Sep. 30, 1512; Fernando to Muxica and Caroz, Oct. 1512; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 19–25.

2. Knight to Wolsey, Oct. 4, 1512; Wolsey to Fox, Sep. 30, 1512; Muxica to Fernando, Nov. 19, 1512; Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. i. 60, 63; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 25.

3. Treaty with Marguerite of Austria, April 5, 1513; Treaty with Max. April 5, 1513; Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, l. i. s. 46.

4. Badoer to Signory, Nov. 9, 1512, Jan. 20, 1513; Sanuto

Diaries, Jan. 8, 1513; *Fœdera*, xiii. 354; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 138.

5. League between France and Scotland, May 22, 1512; James to Julius, Feb. 12, 1513; James to Henry, July 6, 1513; Tytler, *History of Scotland*, ii. c. vi. vii.; Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.* i. 1.

6. Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. p. i. m. 10; Howard to Henry, March 22, 1513; Howard to Wolsey, April 5, 1513; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150.

7. Sanuto Diaries, April 30, June 9, 1513. For an example of the spirit in which Henry received such news from Catharine see Pace's letter to Wolsey, *State Papers*, i. 2.

CHAP. V.—1. Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. i. m. 9; *Fœdera*, xiii. 370, 374; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* l. xxx. c. 5; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. lvi.; *Epis. Pet. Mart.* 524.

2. Sanuto Diaries, June 9, 1513; Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, l. i. s. 46.

3. Lands. MSS. 818, f. 2; Cott. MSS. D. vi. 104; Sanuto Diaries, April 30, 1513; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150.

4. Add. MSS. 21, 382, f. 52; Cott. MSS. Cleo. c. v. 59, 64; Catharine to Wolsey, July 26, 1513; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* 524; Erasmus, *Epist.* xii. 21; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, i. 1, 2; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 9.

5. Taylor's Diary of the War, June 25, 1513; Lands. MSS. 818, f. 2; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* 524; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 7; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, ii. 311; Napier, *Hist. Ewelme and Swyncomb*, 178; Banks, *Extinct Baronage*, ii. 158.

6. Taylor's Diary, June 23, 1513; Cott. MSS. Tit. B. i. 142; *Lettres de Louis XII.* iv. 274; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 9; *Chronicle of Calais*, 71; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150.

7. James to Henry, July 16, 1513; Henry to James, Aug. 12, 1513; Surrey to James, Sep. 7, 1513; Queen Margaret to Catharine, Nov. 11, 1513; Thorpe, *Cal. Scott. Papers*, i. 2; Winstanley, *England's Worthies*, 182.

CHAP. VI.—1. Badoer to Signory, April 1, 1514; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150; Mariana, *Historia de España*, l. xxx. c. vi.

2. Sanuto Diaries, June 9, 1513; Novaes, *Pont. San Pietro*, vi. 163; Raynal, *Ann. Eccl.* 1513; Giovio, *Vita di Leone X.* l. iii. 152; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, &c., 511.

3. Max to Marguerite, Jan. 10, 1514; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 138, 144.

4. Catharine to Wolsey, July 26, 1513; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 144; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 7.

5. Cott. MSS. Vesp. c. i. 75, 86; Treaty of Max, Fernando, Queen Juana, and Henry, Oct. 17, 1513; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2 S. i. 203.

6. Sanuto Diaries, Oct. 8, 1513; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 1 S. i. 88.

CHAP. VII.—1. Marguerite to Wolsey, Feb. 7, 1514; Erasmus, *Epist.* vii. 37; *Lett. Louis XII.* iv. 257; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* Ep. 537.

2. Truce between Louis and Fernando, Orthez, April 1, 1513; Proposals of Louis, Dec. 1513; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. xxvii. xxxiv. lvi. p. 98, 103, 171, 202, 203; Lanz, *Corr. Karl V.* i. 2.

3. Fernando to Lanuza, Mar. 9, 1514; *Doc. Orig. Hist. France*, 315; Bernier, *Histoire de Blois*, 16, 419; Gaillard, *Histoire de François Ier*, i. 48.

4. *Span. Cal.* ii. 93, 176.

5. *Span. Cal.* ii. 114, 171, 174, 190; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 227.

6. Pasquilago to Alvise, April 22, 1514; *Span. Cal.* ii. 176; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* 538.

7. Sanuto Diaries, Sep. 1, 1514; *Sup. Span. Cal.* 46.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Dandolo to Signory, Sep. 8, 1513; Anderson, *Roy. Gen.* 627; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150.

2. Dandolo to Signory, Sep. 8, 1513; *Archæologia*, xxvi. 475; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. i. 152–4.

3. Lands. MSS. 818, f. 12; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 150–1.

4. Badoer to Signory, Sep. 16, 18, 1513; Sanuto Diaries, April 30, May 9, 1513; Roscoe, *Leo X.* i. 286; Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 156; Dumont, *Hist. Diplom.* iv. p. i. 175.

5. Sanuto Diaries, Dec. 31, 1513; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, l. xii. c. 1.

6. Lands. MSS. 818, f. 12; Badoer to Signory, June 27, 1514.

7. Lands. MSS. 818, f. 12; Giustiniani to the Signory, July 17,

1516; Eras. *Epist.* x. 11. Warham's retirement was so complete, that for five years after Catharine's clandestine marriage he is never mentioned by either Spanish or Venetian agent. See Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 726; and Brown, *Cal. Ven. Pap.* ii. 688.

CHAP. IX.—1. Lansd. MSS. 818, f. 12; Sanuto Diaries, June 27, July 12, 1514.

2. Sanuto Diaries, Sep. 8, 1513, Feb. 5, 1514; *Chronicle of Calais*, 68–9.

3. Sealed Bills, May 15, 1513, Feb. 1, 1514; Bull of Clement VII., May 12, 1528; Cott. MSS. Tit. B. i. 142; Green, *Princesses of England*, v. app. 576; *Parl. Rot.* Mar. 4, 1514; Parsons, *Broken Succession of the Crown of England*, 129; Parsons, *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 124.

4. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 118, 131; Pleine to Marguerite, June 30, 1514; *Lettres de Louis XII.* iv. 253, 270, 304, 320.

5. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 13, 118, 143; Sanuto Diaries, Sep. 9, 12, 1513; *Lett. Louis XII.* iv. 335.

6. Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 151; *Doc. Orig. Hist. France*, 301; Seyssel, *Hist. Louis XII.* 383; Bernier, *Histoire de Blois*, 397–422; Anderson, *Roy. Gen.* 711.

7. Sanuto Diaries, Jan. 23, 1514; Felebien, *Histoire de St. Denis*, 562; *Span. Cal.* ii. 201.

8. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. v. 331, D. vi. 198; Wolsey to Worcester, Oct. 22, 1514; *Fast. Eccl. Ang.* ii. 21; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. i. 168, 170; Williams, *English Cardinals*, ii. 243; *Lettres de Louis XII.* iv. 342; Bergenroth, *Sp. Cal.* ii. 246; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 514.

SIXTEENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Vera, *Vida y Hechos del invicto Emperador Carlos Quinto*, i. 3, 8; Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, i. 17, ii. 346, 347; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* i. 241.

2. Sanuto Diaries, July 30, Aug. 4, Sep. 10, 1514; *Mém. du Chev. Bayard*, c. 58; *Mém. du Bellay*, l. i. 37; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* 542.

3. Wingfield to Wolsey, June 27, 1514; Pleine to Marguerite,

June 30, 1514; Sanuto Diaries, Aug. 6, 20, 1514; Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 149.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 117; Sanuto Diaries, June 9, 10, 13, 15, 30, July 1, 3, 1514; *Lett. Louis XII.* iv. 30; *Fœdera*, xiii. 405.

5. Cott. MSS. Cal. E. i. 115; Treaty of Louis and Henry, July 9, 1514; Wood, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, i. 204.

6. Green, *Prin. Eng.* v. 26–7; *Fœdera*, xiii. 405–9.

7. Cott. MSS. Vit. C. xi. 155, D. vi. 147; *Lel. Coll.* ii. 701; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 1 S. i. 115, 117; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20.

CHAP. II.—1. Harl. MSS. 417, f. 90; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 3; Reilly, *Hist. Anec. Boleyn Fam.* 3, 4; Nott, *Memoir of Sir Thomas Wyat*, xviii.; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, b. i. c. 2; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20.

2. Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, 249; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2 S. ii. 10; Bloomfield, *Hist. Norf.* iii. 627; Nichols, *Narratives of Reformation*, 52, 53; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v. 134; Walter, *Biographical Notice of William Tyndale*, prefixed to Tyndale's 'Doctrinal Treatises,' lxiv.

3. Privy Seals, July 9, 1510; Cott. MSS. Tit. B. i. 99; Nott, *Memoirs of the Earl of Surrey*, vii.; Howard, *Mem. Howard Family*, 12; Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, xii.; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 511; Martin, *History of Hertford*, 124; Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* v. 144; Statutes, iii. 34.

4. Wyat, *Poems*, 235; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 3–5.

5. Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2 S. ii. 10. The original letter is in Corpus Christi College library, MS. 119, f. 21; and is printed textually by Brewer (ten years after date) in *Letters and Papers*, iv. 1–2. The Queen referred to in the text as 'wise and good' appears to be Mary, the new Queen of France.

6. Privy Seals, April 17, 1510; Harl. MSS. 6069, f. 112; Louis to Suffolk, Nov. 26, 1514; Sanuto Diaries, Aug. 5, Sep. 1, 1514; Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Cal.* 45.

CHAP. III.—1. Wingfield to Wolsey, June 27, 1514; *Lettres de Louis XII.* iv. 335.

2. *Sup. Span. Cal.* 44. The date of Diego's arrest is not fixed by documents, but may be inferred from Catharine's statement

afterwards, that 'things would never have come to so bad a pass as they reached,' in the period of the French alliance, 'had Diego remained with her.' Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 31, 1515.

3. *Sup. Span. Cal.* 46.

4. Sanuto Diaries, Sep. 1, 1514; *Sup. Span. Cal.* 45.

5. Sanuto Diaries, Sep. 1, 1514; *Mémoires et Recueil de l'Origine, Alliance et Succession de la Famille Royal de Bourbon*, 1597.

6. Sanuto Diaries, Sep. 1, 1514; Diego to Henry, *Sup. Span. Cal.* 51; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20.

7. Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 8–11. The great conflict of opinion as to what a pope could do in the way of dispensation fills many volumes. It may be briefly studied in two representative works: *Non Esse divino, neque naturæ jure prohibitum, quia summus Pontifex dispensare, &c.* (1532), by the Spaniard, Luis Vives; and in *Articuli duodecim quibus plane admodum demonstratur divortium inter Henricum octavum Angliæ Regem invictissimum et serenissimam Katherinam necessario esse faciendum*, by the Englishman, Thomas Cranmer.

CHAP. IV.—1. Harl. MSS. 3462, f. 142; Caroz to Esturriga, Dec. 6, 1614; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 152; *Fœdera*, xiii. 423; Green, *Prin. Eng.* v. 30.

2. Cott. MSS. Gal, B. iii. 200–14; Fernando to Pedro de Urea, Oct. 1514; Fernando to Lanuza, Oct. 1514; Leonard, *Recueil des Traités*, ii. 110; *Lettres de Louis XII.* iv. 355.

3. *Span. Cal.* ii. 206, 215.

4. *Span. Cal.* ii. 248; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* 545.

5. Catharine to Isabel, Nov. 26, 1504; Puebla to Fernando, Dec. 5, 1504, Aug. 11, 1505; Collins, *Peerage*, iii. 44–52.

6. Caroz to Esturriga, Dec. 6, 1514; Add. MSS. 19,398, f. 644.

7. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. iii. 208; Caroz to Esturriga, Dec. 6, 1514; *Lettres de Louis XII.* iv. 335; *Rutland Papers*, 25; *Epist. Pet. Mart.* 545.

CHAP. V.—1. *Lelandi Collectanea*, ii. 701; Green, *Prin. Eng.* v. 46–7; *Rutland Papers*, 25; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. i. 244–7; *Fœdera*, xiii. 448; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, ii. 313; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20; Leti, *Vie d'Elizabeth*, 47.

2. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 1471, Vit. C. xi. 155; Henry to

Leo, Aug. 12, 1514; Leo to Henry, Sep. 24, 1514; *Fœdera*, xiii. 451; Parsons, *Broken Succession*, 129.

3. Holbein's portrait of François Premier at Hampton Court, 598, and picture of François and Valentino in same gallery, 566; *Mem. de Chev. Bayard*, c. 58; Giovio, *Historia sui Temporis*, l. x.; Gaillard, *Histoire de François Prem.* i. 31–43.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal D. vi. 199, 249; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 2 S. i. 250–62.

5. Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, iii. 346; Godfrey, *Ceremonial Français*, i. 746.

6. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 147; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, xlix.

Chap. VI.—1. Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 13, 1515; Badoer to Signory, Feb. 6, 1515; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, ii. 313.

2. Suffolk to Henry, Feb. 10, 15; Wingfield to Henry, Jan. 14, 1515; Cott. MSS. Vit. B. ii. 150; *Documents Originaux de l'Histoire de France*, 320; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Rois de France*, 240.

3. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. ii. 150; Suffolk to Henry, Feb. 10, 1515; Sanuto Diaries, Jan. 28, 30, Feb. 16, 1515; Le Glay, *Négociations*, ii. 53, 73.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 159, 163, 268, Gal. B. iii. 284; Sommerard, *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, p. i.–xvii.; Carrozet, *Antiquités de Paris*, 148.

5. Sommerard, *Les Arts du Moyen Âge*, p. i.–xvii.

6. Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 258.

7. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 174, 176, 209, 256; Wood, *Letters of Ladies*, i. 190–2.

Chap. VII.—1. Caroz to Esturriga, Dec. 6, 1514.

2. Caroz to Esturriga, Dec. 6, 1514; Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 31, 1515.

3. Camb. MSS. D. iii. 85, 17 (printed in *Princesses of England*, v. 576); *Hereditary Right to the Crown of England*, 203; Parsons, *Leicester's Commonwealth*, 110, 124; *Broken Succession*, c. vi.

4. Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 31, 1515; Fernando to Meza, May 2, 1515; Treaty of Henry and Fernando, Oct. 19, 1515; *Sup. Span. Cal.* ii. 250, 256.

5. Cott. MSS. Cal. B. vi. 40, 179; Suffolk to Wolsey, Feb. 8, 1515.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 147, 153; Louis to Suffolk, Nov. 26, 1514; Caroz to Esturriga, Dec. 6, 1514.

2. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 174; Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.* i. 5.

3. Cott. MSS. Cal. B. vi. 40, 179; Suffolk to Wolsey, Feb. 8, 1515.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 181; Suffolk to Wolsey, Mar. 5, 1515; Wood, *Letters of Ladies*, i. 201; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 51, 112, 258; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 153.

5. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vi. 184; Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 4; Green, *Princesses of England*, v. 92; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii. Pref. xii. p. 74.

6. Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 31, 1515.

CHAP. IX.—1. Mémoire par Florimond Robertet, Nov. 26, 1514.

2. Gaillard, *Histoire de François Premier*, i. 170–92; Giovio, *Historia sui Temporis*, l. xv. 290.

3. Signed Bills, April 4, 1515; Treaty of Leo, Fernando, &c. Feb. 12, 1515; Proclamation of Leo, Feb. 22, 1515; Fernando to Meza, May 2, 1515; *Fœdera*, xiii. 476; Thorpe, *Cal. Scott. Papers*, i. 3, 4; *Mémoires de Martin du Bellay*, l. i. 43; *Mém. Chev. Bayard*, c. 60; Giovio, *Historia sui Temporis*, l. xv. 315.

4. Fernando to Lanuza, Aug. 8, 1515; Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 31, 1515; Henry to Fernando, Oct. 20, 1515; Treaty of Henry and Fernando, Oct. 19, 1515; *Span. Cal.* ii. 256, 261; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 515.

5. Stile to Henry, Mar. 1, 1516; Giustinian to Signory, Feb. 20, 1516; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* l. xxx. c. 10; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 8; Vera, *Vida y Hechos de Carlos Quinto*, 7, 8.

6. Harl. MSS. 3504, f. 232; Giustinian to the Signory, Feb. 20, 1516; *Archæologia*, xxvii. 260.

7. Giustinian to Signory, Feb. 24, 1516; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xv. 191; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 516.

CHAP. X.—1. Manuel to Max, June 13, July 5, 13, 22, 1520; Giustinian to Signory, Jan. 2, Aug. 13, 1516; Chieragato to March. of Mantua, Oct. 15, 1516; *State Papers*, ii. 50.

2. Giustinian to Council of Ten, Oct. 29, Nov. 1, 1516; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 85–92; *Parl. Hist.* iii. 25.

3. Giustinian to Council of Ten, Oct. 20, Nov. 1, 1516; *Chronica Juridicialia*, 151; *Fœdera*, xiii. 529; Erasmus, *Nov. Test.* Ep. ad Thess. i. c. 2; the same, Epist. ii. 7.

4. *Speculum Vitæ*, Par. i. 10, 76, 87, 90; *Chron. de Lanercost*, 31; *Codex redactus legum Fratrum Minorum*, Romæ, 1796; Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wycliff cum Tritico*, Pref. xlviii; Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quædam hactenus inedita*, Pref. xv.–xxxviii.; Bourchier, *De Martyrio Fratrum Ordinis Minorum*, 25; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 365; *Bullarium Rom.* iii. 3, 139.

5. Davenport, *Supplem. Historiæ Provinciæ Anglicanæ*, 1–7; Stephens, *Monast. Anglic.* i. 90–160; Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*, ix. xxvi.; Old Prints in Gardner Collection; Orridge, *Citizens of London*, 19; *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, 4, 6.

6. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. ii. 84; Keilway, *Reports*, 180; Erasmus, *Epist.* Ap. 266.

7. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 7; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 510.

8. Novaes, *Pont. San Piet.* vi. 176.

Chap. XI.—1. *State Papers*, i. 1, 2.

2. Giustinian to Signory, Oct. 25, 1518; Sanuto Diaries, Dec. 13, 1518; *State Papers*, i. 2.

3. Signed Bills, July 2, 1517; Pace to Wolsey, June 30, 1518; Guistinian to Signory, Nov. 15, 1516, Sep. 10, 1519; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 1547. The Boleyn pedigrees in Bloomfield (*Norfolk*, iii. 627) and in Clutterbuck (*Herts*, ii. 94) omit the name of Margaret, Lady Bryan, among Boleyn's sisters. But there is no doubt of their relationship. Francis Bryan speaks of Anne Boleyn as his cousin (*State Papers*, i. 67, vii. 167). Chapuys speaks of Lady Bryan as Boleyn's sister (Chapuys to Charles, Jan. 3 and April 22, 1534).

4. Giustinian to Doge, Nov. 15, 1516; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 8–10.

5. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 533; Haylin, *History of Queen Mary*, 3; More, *Collected Works*, i. 188; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. i. 239; *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adv. Mart. Luth.* 1521.

6. Kite to Henry, Aug. 16, 1518; *Mem. Council of Castille, Span. Cal.* ii. 396; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 5; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20. That the first suggestion of Mary's illegitimacy came from Spain is not disputed by candid Catholic writers. See Butler, *Memoirs of English Catholics*, i. 148.

7. Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. i. 207; *Mem. Council of Castille, Span. Cal.* ii. 396; Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Catolica*, vi.; Vera, *Vida y Hechos de Carlos*, 8.

8. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vii. 1, 8; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 11; Brown, *Four Years in Court of Henry VIII.* ii. 173; *Fœdera*, xiii. 632; Meteren, *Hist. Pays Bas*, 20.

9. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. vi. 65; Brown, *Four Years*, ii. 200; *Fœdera*, xiii. 606, 642; *State Papers*, ii. 51, 101.

SEVENTEENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Brayley, *London and Middlesex*, ii. 350; Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, Ad. 21; Carte, *Mem. of Butler Fam.* i. lxxxiii.

2. Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. 3, m. 3; Hamilton, *Cal. Irish Papers*, i. 2.

3. Lands. MSS. 159, f. 3; Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, in *Works* (ed. Collier), v. 328, 373; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, ii. 313; Gilbert, *Hist. Viceroys of Ireland*, c. ix. xii.; Leniham, *History of Limerick*, 70-3; Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, 38-43; Ap. Gairdner, *Lett. and Pap.* i. 381; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 157.

4. Carte, *Mem. Butler Fam.* i. lxxxi-lxxxv; Conellan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, 251-381; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, b. i. c. 2; *Cal. Irish Papers*, i. 2.

5. Rokeby to Wolsey, Dec. 12, 1515; Bartlett, *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland*, i. 152; Gilbert, *Viceroys of Ireland*, c. xii.; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 514; Ap. Gairdner, *Lett. and Pap.* i. 382; Leniham, *Hist. Limerick*, 73.

6. *Cal. Irish Papers*, i. 2; Kildare, *Earls and Marquises of Kildare*, Ad. 21; Carte, *Mem. of Butler Fam.* i. lxxxiv.; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, ii. 313

7. Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3, m. 3; Rokeby to Wolsey, Dec. 12; 1515; *History of St. Canice Cathedral*, 248; Bartlett, *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland*, i. 154; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 159; Carte, *Mem. of Butler Fam.* i. lxv. lxxx.

8. *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, i. 215–671, iii. 1–127; *Cal. Carew MSS.* 5, 8; Spenser, *State of Ireland*, v. 296–496; Davis, *True Causes why Ireland was never Subdued*, 116–131; Riche, *Short Survey of Ireland*, 3; Conellan, *Annals of the Four Masters*, 379; *Cal. Irish Papers*, i. 1–2.

9. *Cal. Carew MSS.* 128; Brewer, *Lett. and Pap.* ii. 1488; Carte, *Mem. of Butler Fam.* i. lxxxvi.; *State Papers*, ii. 50–1; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 160.

CHAP. II.—1. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vii. 93; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 1 S. i. 146, 154.

2. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vii. 22, Vit. B. iii. 203; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 154; Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, 166; Brown, *Four Years at Court of Hen. VIII.* ii. 225.

3. Add. MSS. 21,116, f. 40; Brown, *Four Years at Court*, i. 250; *Life of Bishop Fox*, xxiv.; Brewer, *Lett. and Pap.* ii. 1471, 1621, iv. 1516, 1572; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 511; Wood, *Letters of Ladies*, ii. 203, 208; Newton, *London in the Olden Time*, 56; Brayley, *London and Middlesex*, iii. 216.

4. Marguerite to Catharine, May 28, 1518; Alessandro to Wolsey, Lamb. MSS. 602, f. 65; *Itinerarium ad regiones sub æquinoctiali plagâ constitutas Alexandri Geraldino*, Romæ, 1631 Tiraboschi, *Letteratura Italiana*, vi. 1447.

5. Leo to Henry, April 23, Nov. 6, 1517; Leo to Catharine, Nov. 6, 1517; Brown, *Four Years*, ii. 104.

6. Marguerite to Catharine, May 28, 1518; Lamb. MSS. 602, f. 65; *Biographie Universelle*, xvii. 167.

7. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vii. 73, 87, 155, Vesp. C. i. 214; Brown, *Four Years*, ii. 224.

CHAP. III.—1. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vii. 121; François to Henry, June 14, 1519; Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 4; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 12; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 1 S. i. 159; Vera, *Vida y Hechos de Carlos*, 10; Gaillard, *Histoire de François*, i. 309; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. lxxiv.; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii.; Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, 20.

2. Giustinian to Signory Poissy, May 20, 21, 1519; Gaillard, *Vie de François I.* 208–36.

3. Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 154.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. vii. 107, 158, viii. 30; Cheyne to Henry,

Feb. 13, 1522; *Monumenta Hapsburgica*, 135; *Mémoires de Fleuranges*, 329; Le Glay, *Négociations*, ii. 514.

5. Furnival, *Percy Folio MSS.* ii. lv.; *Ballads from MSS.* i. 10; Smith, *Commonwealth of England*, 123; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 506, iv. 1563; Stowe, *Chronicle*, 510–3.

6. Harl. MSS. 283, f. 70–2; Sanuto Diaries, May 13, 14, 17, 1521; Stowe, *Chronicle*, 511; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 491–5; Le Glay, *Négociations*, ii. 514.

7. Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 5; Howell, *State Trials*, i. 298; *Chronica Juridicialia*, 145–53; *Parl. Hist. Eng.* iii. 35; *Statutes*, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 20; Hunter, *Hist. Hallam.* 68.

CHAP. IV.—1. Grant, April 24, 1522; Sackville-West, *Memoir of Lord Buckhurst*, vi.; Le Glay, *Négociations*, ii. 514; Howell, *State Trials*, i. 294–7; *Baga de Secretis*, pouches viii. and ix.

2. Grants, Oct. 20, 1521, Mar. 12, 18, 29, April 12, 24, 29, Aug. 1, 1522; Signed Bills, April 10, July 12, Nov. 8, 20, 1522, July 4, 1523.

3. Cott. MSS. Cal. B. ii. 310, 327, D. viii. 83; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 98–101; Collins, *Peerage*, ii. 381, 388; *Northumberland Household Book*, 1770; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 1115; Lodge, *Illustrations*, i. 13, 16.

4. Lamb. MSS. 602, f. 71; Kildare, *Earls and Marquises of Kildare*, 77, 85; *Cal. Irish Papers*, i. 2, 3; Holinshed, *History of Ireland*, iii. 79–81; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 160–2.

5. Tonniret to Wolsey, Mar. 7, 1520; François to Henry, Mar. 8, 1520; Brewer, *Lett. and Pap.* iii. 241, 1539; Clutterbuck, *History of Herts*, iii. 181. For an illustration of the King's practice of directing the marriages of his servants, see Lodge's *Illustrations*, i. 34.

6. Surrey to Wolsey, Oct. 6, 1520; Cott. MSS. Gal B. vii. 45.

7. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. viii. 170, 180; *Monumenta Hapsburgica*, 470; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 529; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 14–6; *Granvelle Papers*, i. 125. In ignorance of this Butler contract, Lingard (*Hist. Engl.* vi. 172, note) and other writers have been much puzzled by the terms of the bull proposed to Clement. The words refer to Anne's supposed precontract with James Butler (see Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 707; Burnet, *Records*, i. 22; and Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv. 1637).

CHAP. V.—1. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. viii. 180; Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Jan. 10, 1561; Du Tillet, *Recueil des Guerres*, 156; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 112; Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 1545. Lancelot de Carles, author of the *Epistre*—one of the leading documents for the history of Anne Boleyn, utterly unknown to her many historians—was a well-known bishop and man of letters (see *Biog. Univ.* vii. 140). He knew Anne Boleyn well, and, like all the liberal ecclesiastics, he felt for her a deep respect. He was in London at the time of her arrest, and wrote the account of her trial and execution, which he saw, within a few days of her death. 'Ceci fus faict a Londres le 2 du mois de June en l'an 1536' (*Epistre*, 47).

2. Portrait of Anne at Woburn Abbey; Sanuto Diaries, Oct. 31, 1532; Tottel, *Miscellany* (Coll. rep.), 48–9; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 51, 112; Grainger, *Biographical History of England*, i. 78.

3. Chapuys to Charles, June 6, 1536; Tottel, *Miscellany*, 52, 85, 88; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 4, 5; Sanders, *De Schismate Anglicano*, l. iii. The best portraits of Queen Anne Boleyn give her so little beauty, that admirers have been driven to the conclusion that she was painted by the Papists after her death. See Bliss, *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, ii. 71.

4. Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Jan. 10, 1561; Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 5; Carte, *Mem. Butler Fam.* i. lxxxiv.; Brayley, *London and Middlesex*, 348; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Bolcyn*, 3, 5; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 285.

5. Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 5; Lanzi, *Hist. Paint. Ital.* Ep. ii.; *Doc. Orig. l'Hist. France*, 349; *Œuvres de Clement Marot*, 1731; Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres*, viii. 371.

6. Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 3, 4; Tottel, *Miscellany*, 64; Hawkins, *History of Music*, iii. 30, 31. Hawkins assigns the lines beginning 'O Death, rock me asleep,' to Anne Boleyn; Ritson to her brother George (see Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, 120).

7. Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 285. Anne's enemies bear witness to her extraordinary vivacity. (See Sanders, *De Schis. Angl.* l. iii.) The expression of Henry after his first conversation with Anne showed the secret of her power to charm. (See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, 118, 121.)

CHAP. VI.—1. My Note Book; Hasted, *History of Kent*, i. 194.

2. My Note Book; *Historical Account of Hever Castle*, 26.

3. Howard, *Memorials of the Howard Family*, 12; Clutterbuck, *History of Hertford*, iii. 72, 94.

4. Burke, *Dormant and Extinct Peerage*, iii. 755; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 98; Walpole, *Works*, i. 528; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 1501, iii. 1260, 1539; Clutterbuck, *History of Herts*, iii. 181; Anstiss, *Order of the Garter*, ii. 358. Boleyn's barony is omitted in the peerages (see Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 63). But there is no doubt of the creation (see Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 1260).

5. Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 4, p. 2, m. 2, 18; Signed Bills, June 30, 1511; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* ii. 370; Green, *Prin. Eng.* iv. 7; Weever, *Ant. Fun. Mon.* 864; *Biographical Memoir of Lord Buckhurst*, by R. Sackville-West, prefixed to 'Works,' v. vi.; Bloomfield, *History of Norfolk*, iii. 627.

6. *Cal. Carew MSS.* 85, 94; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, ii. 313; Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, 86; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 164.

7. Howard, *Mem. Howard Fam.* 11–16; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 159; Nott, *Memoirs of Surrey*, ix.; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 131–142.

8. Cott. MSS. Tit. B. i. 171; Wood, *Letters of Ladies*, i. 3368; ii. 218–20; Nott, *Mem. Surrey*, xi., app. ii.; Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 306.

CHAP. VII.—1. Carles, *Epistre de la Royne d'Angleterre*, 5; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 5–6; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 1559; Nott, *Memoir of Wyat*, xviii.

2. Privy Seals, May 22, 1509; Signed Bonds, Feb. 15, 1512; Warham to Wolsey, May 3, 1524; Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, ii. 184; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sep. 1850; Grose, *Antiquities*, ii. art. Allington; Nott, *Wyat's Works*, 268–9; Black, *Guide to Kent*, 135.

3. 'Pedigree of Wyat Family,' prefixed to Nott's ed. of *Wyat's Works*; Bruce, 'Papers on Sir Thomas Wyat,' in *Gent. Mag.* for June and Sep. 1850.

4. *Gent. Mag.* Sep. 1850; Bell, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Wyat*, ii.; Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, ii. 184; Walpole, *Misc. Antiq.* ii. 7. Nott half doubted the story of the cat (*Mem. of Wyat*, p. ii. n. i.), though he found it mentioned on the tomb at Boxley, and heard that the incident had been painted in a picture. Bruce settled the

question by quotations from authentic Wyat Papers (see *Gent. Mag.* Sep. 1850). The picture with the cat was exhibited in the National Portrait Exhibition.

5. Collins, *Peerage of England*, iii. 428; Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, ii. 184.

6. Warham to Wolsey, May 3, 1524; *Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1850.

7. Nott, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Wyat*, vii.–xxv.; Bruce, *Gent. Mag.* Sep. 1850; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 124; Bell, *Mem. Wyat*, 15.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Pedigree of Wyat Family; Nott, *Works of Wyat*, xviii.; Banks, *Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England*, ii. 112; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 118; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 76.

2. Cresembeni, *Vite de Poeti Provenzali*, 13; *Histoire Literaire des Troubadours*, i. 85; Jameson, *Memoirs of Women loved and celebrated by the Poets*, i. 14–54.

3. Tottel, *Miscellany* (1557, rep. Collier), 295; Nott, *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Wyat*, xxi.

4. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 120.

5. Add. MSS. 19,398, f. 644; Thorpe, *Cal. Scott. Papers*, i. 9, 10; *State Papers*, i. 109, xi. 618; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, i. 20, 21; Hunter, *History of Hallamshire*, 236.

6. Cott. MSS. Cal. B. ii. 310, 318, 327, vi. 242; Add. MSS. 24,965, f. 78; Grants, Feb. 16, 1522; Jeffery, *History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire*, ii. 66; Thorpe, *Cal. Scott. Papers*, i. 12–15.

7. Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ii.; Collins, *Peerage*, viii. 405; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 872.

8. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 121; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 10–12. Cavendish imagines that Wolsey had been sent by Henry to part the lovers; but Cavendish, though a good witness in what happened in the Cardinal's house, is no authority for what was passing in the King's mind. I have no doubt that Henry was still thinking of Anne's marriage to James Butler as a means of pacifying the Irish Pale. See Wolsey's words to Percy, *Life of Wolsey*, 123.

CHAP. IX.—1. *Cal. Carew MSS.* 16; Lodge, *Peerage of Ireland*, i. 55–63; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 162.

2. Lands. MSS. 159, f. 3; *Cal. Carew MSS.* 22, 23; *State Papers*, ii. 89; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 160–2.

3. *State Papers*, ii. 88-91; *Cal. Irish State Papers*, i. 4.

4. Stile to Wolsey, Mar. 11, April 25, 1522; *Cal. Irish State Papers*, i. 4; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 161.

5. Lands. MSS. 159, f. 3; Kildare to Wolsey, Feb. 8, 1523; Campian, *Historie of Ireland*, 161; Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, i. 84; Holinshed, *Historie of Ireland*, iii. 79.

6. *Cal. Carew MSS.* 94; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 123; Wyat, *Life of Queen Anne Boleyn*, 5.

CHAP. X.—1. Cott. MSS. Cal. B. vi. 13,318; Add. MSS. 24,965, f. 70, 78.

2. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 122.

3. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 123.

4. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 123–4.

5. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 124.

6. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 124–5.

CHAP. XI.—1. *Regulations of Establishment o the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, at his Castles of Wresill and Leckinfield, in Yorkshire*, 1770; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iii. 1; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, i. 13, 16.

2. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 125; Lodge, *Illustrations*, i. 20.

3. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 126.

4. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 126–7; Lodge, *Illustrations*, i. 21.

5. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 127; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 11, 12.

6. Ellis, *Original Letters*, 31, ii. 131; Lodge, *Illustrations*, i. 22, 27; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 16; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 147. The great importance of this letter is noted by Mr. Froude (*Hist. Engl.* i. 67). The letter is unsigned; but I have no doubt, from internal and external evidence—from the story told, from the person addressed, from the references to Anne, to Wolsey, and to the King's anger, as well as from the fact that it was found in Cromwell's possession, among other Anne Boleyn papers—that Miss Strickland is right in printing it as Percy's composition (see *Hist. Queen. Eng.* ed. Bohn, ii. 190).

7. Add. MSS. 24,965, f. 106; Cott. MSS. Cal. B. vi. 318;

Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, i. xxiv.; Collins, *Peerage*, ii. 394; *Chronica Juridicialia*, 153.

8. Add. MSS. 24,965, f. 78; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 129; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 10, 11.

EIGHTEENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Collins, *Peerage*, ii. 389; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 129; *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxiv. 237.

2. Charles to Sessa, Dec. 14, 1523; Sessa to Charles, Sep. 16, Oct. 28, Nov. 18, 1523; Novaes, *Pont. San Pietro*, vi. 221; *Monumenta Hapsburgica*, 506; Gachard, *Correspondence d'Adrien*, vi. 192–7; *Commentaires de Charles Quint*, 17; Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.* i. 58–61.

3. Cott. MSS. Ves. C. iv. 260; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 511, 513, 516, 518, 531, 533, 536; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 250; More, *Collected Works*, i. 188; *State Papers*, vii. 171, 189.

4. *Historia Clementis Septimi*, in Schelhorn's *Amœnitates Hist. Eccl.* ii. 210, *et seq.*; Novaes, *Pont. San Pietro*, vi. 221–5; Raynal, *Ann. Eccl.* 1523; Giovio, *Vita de Pompeo Colonna*, 160; Bullar. *Mag.* x. 22; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 534, 536.

5. Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.* c. 13; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, l. xv. c. 3; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 533, 538.

6. Walch, *Der Romischen Päpste*, 379; Novaes, *Pont. San Pietro*, vi. 221–60; Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. Ital.* viii. 42–395; Charriere, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i. 92.

7. *State Papers*, vi. 220, 221; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 539, 540.

8. *State Papers*, ii. 257; Cott. MSS. Vit. B. vi. 72.

CHAP. II.—1. Ruscelli, *Lettere di Principi*, i. 146.

2. Luther, *Tischreden*, c. lxxvii.; Schroeckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, xix. 515, xxvi. 131–53; Mabillon, *Annales Benedict*, vi. 346; Masson, *Israel of the Alps*, i. 34; Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quædam hactenus inedita*, xix.; Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, i. 29.

3. *Antwort deutsch Mart. Luthers auf König Heinrichs von Engeland buch*, 1522; Walch, *Ausfürhliche Nachricht von D. Mart. Luther*, i. *Sämmtliche Werke*, xxiv.; Seckendorf, *Historia Lutheranismi*, 41, 72, 73; Erasmus, *Epist.* xiv. 19.

4. Cott. MSS. Cal. B. vi. 171; Erasmus, *Epist.* xiii. 4, 21; Gratiano, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, 185-92; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. i. 239; *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Mart. Lutherum*, 1521; More, *Coll. Works*, i. 188; Campian, *Narratio de Divortio Henrici VIII. ab uxore Catharina*, ap. *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica*, 733. The real authorship of the treatise on the Seven Sacraments has been much debated. Cardinal Bellarmine attributes the book to Fisher (*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, 309). Fisher was, I think, the chief author (Comp. Lewis, *Life of Fisher*, i. 110).

5. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. iv. 156, 226; *Fœdera*, xiii. 756.

6. *Martini Lutheri, De Captivitate Babylonica*, 1524; More, *Collected Works*, i. 188; Ruscelli, *Lettere di Principi*, i. 146; Thuanus, *Historia sui Temporis*, An. 1520, 1524.

CHAP. III.—1. Pole, *Apologia ad Carolum*, 162; Conf. Sanders, *Col. Agrip.* 5.

2. *Monumenta Hapsburgica*, 135; More, *Coll. Works*, i. 188.

3. Sauch to Charles, Mar. 19, 1520.

4. Surian to Signory, Feb. 28, 1521, May 31, 1522.

5. Sanuto Diaries, May 27, June 6, 1521, June 29, 1525; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 42.

6. Contarini to Signory, June 6, 1522; *Antwort deutsch Mart. Luthers auf König Heinrichs von Engeland buch*, 1522.

7. Privy Seals, June 6, 1513; Harl. MSS. 417, f. 90; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* iii. 392; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 244; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 222.

8. Pace to Wolsey, June 30, July 5, 1518; More, *Coll. Works*, i. 188.

9. Sanuto Diaries, Jan. 2, 1528; Fisher, *De Causa Matrimonii Serenissimi Regis Angliæ*, 1530; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv. 1471; Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, Ap. 8, 9, 25, 26; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 222-3.

CHAP. IV.—1. Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i. 98; Howard, *Mem. Howard Fam.* 12, 13; Collins, *Peerage*, i. 79; Martin, *History of Thetford*, 124; Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* v. 144

2. Nott, *Memoirs of Surrey*, xi.; Clutterbuck, *History of Herts*, iii. 177–9; *Harl. Misc.* i. 191; Botoner, *Itinerarium*, 88.

3. Collins, *Peerage*, i. 79; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 352.

4. Lanz, *Corresp. Karl V.* i. 99; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 461.

5. Le Glay, 'Notice sur Marguerite d'Autriche,' app. *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 461.

6. Reiffenberg, *Chronique de Chastillon et Molinet*, 154.

CHAP. V.—1. Sampson to Wolsey, Aug. 16, 17, 1524; Contarini to Signory, Nov. 18, 1522, Aug. 7, 1524; Herbert, *Henry the Eighth*, 244; Marian, *Historia de España*, ii. 757; *Cal. Span. Papers*, ii. 396, 7; Vera, *Vida y Hechos de Carlos Quinto*, 12–16.

2. Contarini to Council of Ten, Aug. 7, 1524; Contarini to Signory, Jan. 9; *Cal. Sp. Pap.* ii. 397.

3. Clement to Wolsey, Sep. 7, 1524; Wolsey to Fisher, Nov. 2, 1524; Turner, *Life of Fisher*, ii. 326; Fisher, *De Causa Matrimonii*, 1530.

4. Add. MSS. 15,387, f. 123, 130; Arundel MSS. 26, f. 44; *State Papers*, vi. 353; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 539, 543.

5. Add. MSS. 15,387, f. 101; Cott. MSS. Ves. c. ii. 286, Vit. B. vi. 3, 9; *Mémoires de Martin du Bellay*, l. ii. 261–4; Gaillard, *Histoire de François*, ii. 17–58; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 44–56; Lanz, *Corresp. Karl V.* i. 134.

6. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. viii. 101, Ves. C. ii. 260, 274; Wolsey to Sampson, June 14, 1524; Jerningham to Wolsey, June 14, 1524; Champollion, *La Captivité du François Prem.* 30; Charriere, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i. 116–9.

7. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. vii. 120; Ruscelli, *Lettere di Principi*, i. 140; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 548.

CHAP. VI.—1. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. vi. 17, 19; Wolsey to Clement, April 21, 1525; *State Papers*, i. 3; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* i. 143.

2. Moreau, *Battaille de Pavia*, 70–9; Gaillard, *Histoire de François*, ii. 149; *Mem. de M. du Bellay*, l. ii. 390; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* ii. 757; Sismondi, *Hist. Rép. Ital.* viii. 50–78; Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du Roi François*, 30.

3. Wolsey to Clement, April 21, 1525; Cott. MSS. Vit. B. vii. 120; Sanuto Diaries, June 29, 1525.

4. Cott. MSS. Ves. f. iii. 18; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 387; Wood, *Letters*, ii. 38–45.

5. Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 1461, 1501; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 43; Nott, *Memoirs of Surrey*, Ap. iii.

6. Patent, 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 42, p. 2, m. 20; Add. MSS. 6113, f. 61; Signed Bills, June 18, July 16, 1525.

7. *State Papers*, i. 159; Hardy, *Syll. Fœd.* ii. 763; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 133; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 387.

8. Signed Bills, July 22, 1525; Nicolas, *His. Peer.* 135, 363, 438; Leland, *Itinerary*, i. 66; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv. 676–9.

CHAP. VII.—1. Reiffenberg, *Chronique de Chastillon*, 154; Le Glay, *Corresp. Max. et Marg.* ii. 461; Lanz, *Corresp. Karl V.* i. 158–74.

2. Sanuto Diaries, July 17, 1525; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 514.

3. Grants, July 2, 1524; Rawlinson, MSS. Bodl. xlvii. 43 (Cal. by Brewer, *Lett. and Pap.* iv. 865); *State Papers*, xi. 509; Lloyd, *State Worthies*, 139; Bloomfield, *Hist. Norf.* iii. 628; Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (ed. Caulfield), 73; Anstiss, *Order of the Garter*, ii. 358.

4. Lamb. MSS. 602, f. 30, 611, f. 55; *State Papers*, ii. 108, 114.

5. Lamb. MSS. 602, f. 30; *Cal. Carew MSS.* 25, 27; *History of St. Canice Cathedral*, 248; *State Papers*, ii. 121.

6. Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, 84–98.

7. Lamb. MSS. 602, f. 30; Lands. MSS. 159, f. 3.

8. *Cal. Carew MSS.* 30, 31, 128; Kildare, *Earls of Kildare*, 95, 97; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 130; Reiffenberg, *Chronique de Chastillon et Molinet*, 54.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Rawlinson MSS. xlvii. 34; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 133; *A Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household*, 1790; *Fragmenta Regalia*, 55.

2. Grants, June 15, 18, 1524, Feb. 20, 1526; Cott. MSS. Vit. B. vii. 102; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 316; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv. 863; Clutterbuck, *History of Herts*, iii. 181.

3. Royal MSS. 7, f. xiv. 100; Harl. MSS. 433, f. 294; Rawlinson MSS. xlvii. 34; Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh*, 43, 243, 482; Nicolas, *Hist. Peer.* 299; Caul-

field, *Fragmenta Regalia*, 55; Banks, *Dormant and Extinct Baronage*, ii. 395–9.

4. Privy Seal, Feb. 17, 1518, Jan. 28, Feb. 20, 1519; Signed Bills, Feb. 18, June 18, 1519; Ruthal to Wolsey, Aug. 18, 1520; *A Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household*, 1790; Dunkin, *History and Antiquities of the Hundreds of Bullington and Ploughley*, 111.

5. Royal MSS. 7, f. xiv. 100; Rawlinson MSS. xlvii. 34; *Collection of Ordinances*, 1790.

6. Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 133; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 58–64.

Chap. IX.—1. Sampson to Wolsey, Aug. 16, 17, 1524; Sanuto Diaries, Aug. 18, 1525; *State Papers*, vi. 364, 412; Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, l. xii. 1–18.

2. Cott. MSS. Ves. c. iii. 23; Wolsey to Tunstall, April 3, 1525; Sanuto Diaries, Mar. 5, 1525; Napier, *Hist. Not. of Swyncomb and Ewelme*, c. ix.; Giovio, *Vita Ferdinandi Avila*, vi. 397–402; Ruscelli, *Lettere di Principi*, i. 152; Freundsberg, *Kriegsthaten*, l. iii. 49–50.

3. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. ix. 112, Ves. c. iii. 66, 184; *State Papers*, vi. 444.

4. Cott. MSS. Vesp. c. iii. 23; Wolsey to Tunstal, April 3, 1525; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 506; Mariana, *Historia de España*, ii. 758.

5. *Documents Originaux de l'Histoire de France*, 349; Rochefort, *Rapport sur la Battaille de Pavia*, 147; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 221; Gaillard, *Histoire de François*, ii. 160–201.

6. Contarini to Council of Ten, Aug. 15, 16, 1524; Contarini to Signory, Feb. 24, 1525; Surian to Signory, Oct. 23, 1524, Feb. 2, 1525; Sanuto Diaries, May 11, Oct. 27, Dec. 6, 23, 30, 1525, Feb. 12, Mar. 2, 17, 1526; Hall, *Henry the Eighth*, 135; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 551.

7. Orio to Council of Ten, July 5, 1525; Contarini to Signory, Aug. 5, 1525; Tunstal to Wolsey, Aug. 10, 11, 1525; Tunstal and Sampson to Henry, Aug. 11, 1525; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 219, 300, 510; Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i. 116–9; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, v. 66, 71; Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, l. xiv. S. 3, 11.

CHAP. X.—1. Egerton MSS. 990, f. 324; Cott. MSS. Cal. D. ix. 313; *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, i. 332-6; *Mém. du Bellay*, iii. 18; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 170; Gaillard, *Histoire de François*, ii. 201.

2. Bellay to Montmorency, Aug. 20, 1528; Champollion, *Captivité du Roi François*, 530; Lanz, *Corresp. Karl V.* i. 192-9.

3. Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 182; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv. 666; F. de Sancta Clara, *Hist. Frat. Min.* 18; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 364; Stevens, *Add. Mon. Angl.* i. 159; More, *Life of More*, 115; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, ii. 307, 312, 319.

4. Cott. MSS. Ves. C. iv. 43; Chieregato to San Pietro, May 19, 1519; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, c. 7; Circourt, *Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, ii. 220; Lämmer, *Monumenta Vaticana*, 25; Wood, *Letters of Ladies*, ii. 202.

5. Cott. MSS. Gal. B. viii. 111, Vet. c. iii. 661, Cal. D. ix. 4; Lanz, *Corresp. Karl V.* i. 157; Ruscelli, *Lettere di Principi*, i. 167; *Fœdera*, xiv. 48, 58, 70.

6. Cott. MSS. Ves. c. iii. 211; Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, 182; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* iii. 62; Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, iv. 666; Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* 3 S. ii. 72.

7. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. ix. 179, 180; Tyndale, *Practise of Prelates*, ii. 320; Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xvi. 388.

8. Cott. MSS. Cal. D. ix. 187, Ves. c. iii. 232, 238; Sandoval, *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, l. xv. S. 3.

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